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Contents.

	PAGE		PAGE
Eſſay on the Rights of Women	204	Alexander Hamilton, *vs.* John Adams	252
Temple of Ignorance	207	Letter of John Adams to Tench Coxe, with depoſitions	253
Agricola; to the People of Maryland—in defence of Mr. Jefferſon	209	John Adams's letter to Thomas Pinckney	256
Copy of a letter to Geo. Waſhington, by an Old Fellow Soldier	218	Views, &c. by Albert Gallatin; (*continued from page* 252)	257
Addreſs to the People of the United States	224	Letter, concerning an appropriate appellation for the citizens of the United States	281
Sketch of the life and character of Mr. Jefferſon	226	Statement of the differences ariſing from the 6th article of the Britiſh Treaty	285
Ode; The Day-Star of Liberty	231	Meſſage of Lieut. Governor Drayton to the Legiſlature of South-Carolina	287
Serious conſiderations why John Adams ſhould not be re-elected	232	State Paper	292
Views of the Public Debt, Receipts and Expenditures of the United States; by Albert Gallatin	237	Poetry	298

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1800.

ON THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

—

But ſay, *Britannia*, do thy ſons, who claim
A birth-right liberty, diſpenſe the ſame
In equal ſcales? Why then doſe cuſtom bind
In chains of ignorance the female mind?
Why is to them the bright etherial ray
Of ſcience veil'd?—

. . . . . .

. . . . . and canſt thou think
That virtues, which exalt the ſoul, can ſink
The outward charms? Muſt knowledge give offence?
And are the graces all at war with ſenſe?

Dodſley's Collection, vol. 2.

—

LIBERALITY of opinion, and freedom of expreſſion, are now ſpreading themſelves more and more widely among mankind; the theories of ages, the accumulated errors of a thouſand years, now totter at the touch of reaſon, and hoary prejudice hides its wrinkled countenance, while the ſcrutinizing genius of modern times, ſpurning its deſpotic influence, endeavors to attract the attention of an enlightened world.

Notwithſtanding this general diffuſion of liberal ſentiment, however, I am aware, that a diſquiſition on the Rights of Woman will expoſe the author to ridicule; and although he may not draw down the thunders of an attorney-general, Bigotry will frown, and Folly—thrice happy Folly! will jingle her bells, and laugh at the attempt.

It is my intention, in the preſent eſſay, as introductory to a conſideration of, and as laying a foundation for, the *rights*, to confine my obſervations to the *abilites*, of woman.

In treating this ſubject, it will be neceſſary to have recourſe to particular characters, in ſupport of the opinion, that the mind knows no difference of ſex; and here I ſhall anticipate an objection to this mode of procedure; viz. that theſe particular characters form rather exceptions, than a general rule.—— 'Hiſtory,' ſays the elegant Fitz-Oſborne, in one of his letters, "it 'muſt be owned, will ſupply ſome 'few female inſtances of all the moſt 'maſculine virtues; but appearan-'ces of that extraordinary nature 'are too uncommon to ſupport the 'notion of a general equality in 'the natural powers of their minds.' Theſe few inſtances, however, are ſufficient to demonſtrate the poſſibility that ſuch 'maſculine virtues' *may* exiſt in the female mind; and if ſuch examples be not frequent, it is not to the infecundity of the ſoil we are to attribute the barrenneſs or immaturity, but to the want of that ripening power, deprived of whoſe kind aſſiſtance, the moſt vigorous of mental plants ſoon fade away—the power of education.

By thoſe who contend that the female mind is incapable of that high cultivation, that energy of thought, that ſtrength of reaſoning, for which nature has excluſively prepared the mind of man, we are told to look through the infinite gradation of created beings; from the higheſt to the loweſt order, in every ſpecies; the female, conſcious of her weakneſs, ſeeks protection, in the ſuperior ſtrength and ſuperior courage of the other ſex. Thus is analogy dreſſed in the ſpecious garb of reaſon, & inſidiouſly introduced as argument! But let us for a moment conſult the page of hiſtory. Do the fragments of Sappho betray an inferiority of

mental powers? So ſenſible were ths Leſbians of their muſe's merit, of the elegance and ſweetneſs of her compoſitions,* that temples and altars were erected to her; medals were ſtamped with her image; and divine honors were paid to her memory. Can a deficiency of intellect be attributed to the character of Aſpaſia, whoſe abilities and eloquence ſeduced the ſtateſman, the philoſopher, and the warrior; the faſcination of whoſe accompliſhments, a Pericles, a Socrates, an Alcibiades, were unable to reſiſt, and whoſe converſation attracted the moſt celebrated artiſts and men of letters of the age? Can we maintain that females are unfit for councils, when Artemiſia, queen of Halicarnaſſus, before the battle of Salamis, ſaved, by her advice, the mighty army of Xerxes, who remarked, when the battle was over, 'That on this day, the 'women had behaved like men, and 'the men, like women;' or ſhall we ſay they are unfit to govern, when the ability with which Semiramis ſwayed the ſceptre of Aſſyria, induced Plato to maintain 'That women 'as well as men ought to be entruſ-'ted with the government of ſtates, 'and the conduct of military opera-'tions?'†

But it is unneceſſary to ſearch the annals of antiquity for examples of ſtrength and vigour in the intellect of woman; modern times will exhibit an equally favorable portraiture of the female mind; we ſee in the character of Heloiſa, 'every quali-'fication which nature in her kind-'eſt humours could give, or educa-'tion could perfect; ſhe was gentle 'and mild as innocence; learned 'as the moſt learned of her age; 'her ſoul was Roman, and her heart 'was a heart of fire.'† Born in the ſullen gloom of the twelfth century, when ſuperſtition caſt a ſolemn ſhade over the whole world, Heloiſa, like the phoſphoric glow-worm, ſhone with unborrowed ſplendour in the midſt of darkneſs. Before the invention of printing, immured within the precincts of a cloyſter, ſhe poſſeſſed a ſoul, pregnant with the moſt liberal and ſublime ideas; her mind was ſtored with the beauties of antiquity, and ſhe infuſed into her writings that attic elegance, that nerve and vigour, by which the ancients are ſo generally characterized ‡ ſhe, ſuperior, roſe above her contemporaries,

'As ſome tall cliff that lifts its
'awful form,
'Swells from the vale, and mid-
'way leaves the ſtorm,
'Though round its breaſt the rol-
'ling clounds are ſpread,
'Eternal ſun-ſhine ſettles on its
'head.'

Goldſmith's Deſerted Village.

But there is not occaſion to traverſe foreign countries for appoſite examples. The atmoſphere of England has by no means been unfavo-

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* Mr. Addiſon, in a moſt elegant and happy manner, has applied to the poetical remains of Sappho, theſe two lines from Phædrus.

Vide Spectator, No. 223.

'O ſuavis anima! qualem te dicam
'bonam
'Antehac fuiſſe, tales ſint reliquiæ!'

'*O ſweet ſoul! ſince thy remains*
'*are ſo delicious, what muſt have*
'*been thyſelf!*'

† Ruſſell's Ancient Europe, Letter I.

† Berrington's Lives of Abelard and Heloiſa—*Preface.*

‡ Her letters to the cold, ſullen-hearted Abelard, are a moſt lively proof of this aſſertion.

rable to the growth of female abilities: here they have bloſſomed with luxuriance; through a ſeries of almoſt fifty years, this country was the terror of the world, when the reins of government were entruſted in the hands of a woman: Elizabeth, by her ſagacious choice of miniſters and generals, by her mild & ſkilful expulſion of the catholics, by her reſtoration of the reformed religion, and by numerous other meaſures which might be adduced, has left a teſtimony of her prudence, policy, and wiſdom, that will endure to the very lateſt poſterity. Her contemporary too, and whom the envy of Elizabeth, called *rival*—the unfortunate Mary, is a ſtriking and illuſtrious inſtance, of what perfection and refinement the female mind is ſuſceptible. It was the elegant accompliſhments of her mind, as well as the beautiful and lovely figure of her perſon, and the graces of her deportment, the unaffected ſimplicity of her addreſs, the charms of her converſation, heightened by extenſive acquirements, the gentleneſs and affability of her diſpoſition—— qualifications which Elizabeth vainly emulated!—that made her at once the object of jealouſy, and the victim of vengeance, to the Engliſh tyrant.

It may ſeem extraordinary that I ſhould omit to mention the names and characters of any modern femaes—I cannot better ſupply the omiſſion, than by introducing the following quotation from "Cooper's Anſwer to Burke's Invective." "I have read the writings of Catharine Macauley, of Miſs Wollſtonecraft, of Mrs. Barbauld, of Mrs. Montague, Miſs Carter, Miſs Seward, Mrs. Dobſon, Miſs H. M. Williams, &c. in England; I have converſed with Theroigne, Madame Condorcet, Madame Lavoiſier, &c. in Paris: I have often felt my own inferiority, and often lamented the preſent iniquitous and moſt abſurd notions on the ſubject of the diſparity of ſexes. I have converſed with politicians, and read the writings of politicians, but I have ſeldom met with views more enlarged, more juſt, more truly patriotic, or with political reaſonings more acute, or arguments more forcible, than in the converſation of Theroigne, or the writings of Miſs Wollſtonecraft: Let the defenders of male deſpotiſm anſwer (if they can) the Rights of Woman, by Miſs Wollſtonecraft."

The examples which I have adduced will receive additional ſplendor, if the extreme diſadvantages be conſidered, under which the generality of women labor with reſpect to education;

Their ſouls proud ſcience taught to ſtray,
Far as the ſolar walk & milky way:

they learn to deſcant on the elegance of faſhion, and external decoration ſeems to be the hereditary ſcience of the ſex. But if in defiance of theſe ſtubborn impediments to mental improvement, ſo numerous are the characters who have vanquiſhed them, what concluſion muſt be drawn of their natural abilities? It is unfair, it is prepoſterous, to expect in general much depth of thought and ſtrength of reaſoning, when, from the cradle to the grave, females are excluded from the very ſources whence alone they are acquired; even converſation, whoſe chemic power extracts from the ore its hidden treaſure depoſited in the mind, is ſeldom allowed to *them* its natural and potent operation; ſo unfaſhionable is it to oppoſe the opinion of a female, that argument is ſeldom in their poſſeſſion, and reaſon in the breaſt of woman, too frequently, like the poor captive bird, when firſt

it feels the horrors of impriſonment, flutters its little wings about the cage, to find a paſſage out, but at length, ſeeing its vain efforts unaſſiſted by the ſympathizing humanity of a friend, ſits fatigued upon its perch, and ſings itſelf to ſleep.

Do not let it be ſuſpected, that in cenſuring one ſpecies of education, or rather the want of it, I would be underſtood to recommend that ſevere ſyſtem of the Spartan law-giver, in which the exerciſe of boxing and wreſtling made a part; I ſhould ſtartle at the ſight of an Amazonian phalanx, with as much affright as the moſt delicate and nervous of my readers; the military exploits of a Joan d'Arc, a Counteſs of Mountford, and a Margaret of Anjou, are equally abhorrent from my feelings and my reaſon; but to explore the labyrinths of philoſophy, and in the page of hiſtory to learn the character of man, can ſurely merit the cenſure of none but the fool and debauchee, neither would ſuch employments in the leaſt interfere with the duties of a family; for Miſs Wollſtonecraft very juſtly obſerves "It is the want of domeſtic taſte, and the acquirement of knowledge, that takes women out of their families, and tears the ſmiling babe from the breaſt that ought to afford it nouriſhment."

But it is the temper of the times to look on a learned woman with a kind of abhorrent awe, to regard her as we do an animal of uncommon magnitude, with curioſity and dread; we conſider the acquirement of knowledge in a female, as incompatible with that delicacy of ſentiment, and that refinement of feeling, which give zeſt to the converſation of the ſex;* and ſo long as ſuch is the opinion of the world, it is hardly to be expected that the tree of knowledge will be plucked of its fruit by the hand of Woman; it has the character of being poiſonous, and few will dare to taſte it; but the character is falſe, and the vindication of its qualities, will be proportionate to its extentof cultivation.

The Temple of Ignorance.

(Tranſlated from Il Caffe.)

IN a country ſituated at about forty degrees of latitude, is found a ſpacious valley, whoſe gentle declivity invites us to deſcend to the extremity, where is erected a magnificent temple, ſacred to the goddeſs *Ignorance*. The temple is ſurrounded by ancient oaks covered with acorns, and the ground is only occupied by furze and catterpillars. The ſtructure of this great temple is gothic, and at the top of the principal gate is roughly ſculptured an enormous gaping mouth. Two ſtatues are fixed, one on the right, and the other on the left of the gate, which diſdainfully turn their backs on each other; upon the pedeſtal of one is written *Theory*, upon the other *Practice*. As ſoon as you croſs the threſhhold, you diſcover the edifice to be filled with an immenſe crowd, compoſed of different dreſſes, faces, and manners. Some, rendered inanimate by an habitual ſtupor, ſuffer themſelves to be carried backward and forward by the motions of others: others, perpetually talking, dogmatiſe with a penetrating tone of voice from morning till night: others ſtupidly laugh at the numerous accidents which ſucceed each other amidſt ſo great a crowd: but all are ignorant of the name of the goddeſs, and of the place of their abode. Here the walls are covered with a variety of pictures

and extravagant armour ; there are ſeen ſulphured garments, chains and fetters, racks and tortures of every deſcription ; here are delineated ſhipwrecks and civil wars ; here are expreſſed in various forms death & pale ſterility. From an elevated roſtrum a haggard female is continually declaiming and crying, 'Youth '—youth, attend to me——truſt 'not to yourſelves, what you feel 'within yourſelves is all illuſion--- 'attend to the ancients, and believe 'well what they have done.' On the other ſide a grave old man roars out, 'Youth---youth---if you wiſh 'to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, 'gather the votes of the multi- 'tude---'youth, reaſon is a chimera!' Occaſionally one puſhes through the crowd, and comes forward, then retires gaping and ſmiling, ſees and obſerves, hears and underſtands not. And from time to time ſome phiſicians advance, who, in the habits of prieſts, with the ſacred knife immolate upon the altar of the goddeſs, the innocent human victims, who bathe with their blood the ſtill reeking ſanctuary. The potent goddeſs is repreſented by a coloſſal ſtatue of cork, whoſe baſe is formed by a prodigious maſs of books diſpoſed in form of a cone. Oh! what a number! what a number of books venerated by us, and ſplendidly bound up in our libraries, ſerve for this office! How many could I name, did I not fear ſurpriſing my readers. and incurring the perſecution of thoſe who are intereſted in concealing ſome truth. Behind the grand altar of the goddeſs is a ſmall encloſure ſeparated from the great body before ſpoken of, where are found a few philoſophers who entered by a magnificent gate, over which is ſculptured the word *Paucis*. Around the walls of this encloſure are written theſe words: '*Elements of bodies*, '*ſenſibility, cauſe of motion, quan-* '*tity of motion, cauſe of attraction,*' and ſimilar expreſſions.——Here thoſe few ſeparatiſts ſing hymns to the goddeſs, thanking her, that by concealing from us future miſeries & misfortunes, and the hour of our death, ſhe frees our life from much ſolicitude.

But if by chance ſome one of theſe dare paſs openly into the great body of the temple, you would think you ſaw the ocean agitated by a terrible ſtorm ; cries, hootings, curſings, reſound from every part, and ſhake the vaulted roof. Some abſtain from the attempt, and thus avoid the inſult ; others endeavor to delude the multitude by carefully concealing themſelves under a falſe outſide ; but the philoſophic effluvium paſſes through in ſpite of all their attempts, and this proves the moſt powerful ſtimulus to excite and animate the multitude to perſecution. At the foot of the altar is a door, which leads to a ſpacious ſubterranean cavern, where, by the pale glimmerings of ſome lamps, a troop of pedants are turning over and learning by heart voluminous conſultations, repetitions and treatiſes. A number of bearded and dirty ſages are here employed in admiring encruſted medals, defaced inſcriptions, ancient goblets and tripods.——Here, in a word, thoſe men who deem themſelves alone to poſſeſs an intimate acquaintance with the ſciences, ſtand year after year, burying true knowledge. Here are burnt every year, at a ſtated period, the works of Bacon, of Galileo, and of Newton, with a copy of '*The Spirit of Laws*,' and another, of '*A treatiſe upon Senſation.*'

ALCANOR.

AGRICOLA; TO THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.

Fellow Citizens!

DEFAMATORY libels, on the character and conduct of Mr. Jefferſon, teem from the preſſes which have been loudeſt in defence of the juſtice, as well as policy of the Sedition Law; boldly relying on its terrors, the friends of adminiſtration hazard abuſe, as contradictory in its nature, as unqualified in its terms:—They conclude, that injury from ſuch reiterated efforts may reach Mr. Jefferſon, but that Mr. Adams, his opponent, reſts ſecure from the hand of retaliation, trembling at a dungeon.

It is indeed true, that the nature of the Sedition Law, and the manner in which it has been executed, have rendered a jail the inevitable conſequence of every proſecution under it: the precipitancy of the trials; the nature of the proof required; the refuſal of judicial proceſs to procure evidence, and its rejection when procured, have already taught us to envy Scotland her chief-juſtice Clerke, and may prepare us finally for the Turkiſh Mute and Bowſtring. Still it is not yet ſedition to ſpeak truth of the Vice-Preſident of the United States—the author of the Declaration of American Independence; an act worthy to proclaim a great nation burſting into exiſtence—ſimple yet vaſt; in energy, the ſtrong effort of a gigantic mind; if adminiſtration would draw a veil over his able negociations in Europe, marked by our only treaty, conſecrating the true intereſts of American commerce—*that free bottoms ſhall make free goods;* If they would forget his negociations with the Miniſter of France, (whilſt American Minister of State) which placed his country on a proud pre-eminence of reputation; or his maſterly defence againſt the voluminous charges of the Britiſh miniſter, which extorted reluctant praiſe from an haughty and unfriendly Court; yet his learned and eloquent defence of the intellectual powers of the American mind, againſt that degeneracy which European philoſophers had ſo illiberally imputed, merits a warm and grateful return from ſome patriot pen: More maſter of the ſciences which improve, and the arts which embelliſh human life, than any man of the age, in which he lives, he is himſelf the brighteſt refutation of their inſolent theory; and it is an unnatural hand, (if ſprung from our ſoil) that would tear the laurel from the brow of American genius.

The author of a hand-bill, under the ſignature of "*A Friend to Fair Play,*" (republiſhed in the Federal Gazette and Centinel of Liberty) has quoted the following lines from Jefferſon's Notes on Virginia, p. 231. *The legitimate powers of Government extend to ſuch acts only as are injurious to others, but it does me no injury for my neighbour to ſay, there are twenty Gods or no God, it neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg.*—His remarks on this paſſage are—*Citizens if you are prepared to ſuffer Atheiſm and infidelity to be preached and inculcated to your children; if you can believe with Thomas Jefferſon, that ſuch doctrines, when advocated and enforced by your neighbours, would do you no injury, becauſe they do not break your legs nor pick your pockets, you are ripe for the accumulated horrors of a French Revolution,*

where war, plunder, murder and misery are made the inheritance of this world, and we are robbed of the next by denying God, blaspheming his son and distinguishing death as a place of eternal ſleep. This rhapſody of vituperative jargon, came from the abundant ſtore-houſe of Peter Porcupine : as it was his, we muſt give *him* all the credit of originality and the Friend to Fair Play can only pretend to the humble merit, of faithfully copying, from this great maſter of ſcurrility and abuſe.

Such is the diſguſting invective daily vented by the friends of adminiſtration againſt the Vice-Preſident, whom in the ſame breath they ſcruple not to repreſent both as Deiſt and Atheiſt alſo: Can they really then think ſo meanly of the capacity of the American people, as to expect to perſuade them to believe, what in its nature is morally and phyſically impoſſible ;—that the ſame man can be both Deiſt or Polytheiſt and Atheiſt too ? That he can believe that there is one God or twenty Gods, and no God at all ? Had theſe auhors as well as others of the ſame caſt, been in ſearch of truth, inſtead of invective, they muſt have obſerved what candor ſhould have led them to ſtate, that theſe lines conſtitute but a very ſmall part of an able legal enquiry into the ſtate of religious freedom in Virginia, in 1781. Mr. Jefferſon, after ſhewing that the laws then unrepealed, ſubjected his fellow-citizens to be burnt at the ſtake for hereſy (the crime, perhaps of all others, that ſhould be leaſt ſubjected to human tribunals, becauſe leaſt definable by human reaſon) uſes, among many arguments, the expreſſions above quoted; where the term injury, evidently means *legal injury* only, as he himſelf explains, by immediately ſubjoining the expreſſions, *picking the pocket*; a ſtrong and marked mode (well warranted by the occaſion) it ſaying, it does *no legal injury to my property ;* and *breaking my leg*, a ſimilar mode of expreſſing *it does no legal injury to my perſon ;* injuries done to the perſon or the property, being the only legal injuries to an individual that the law contemplates. The aſſertion, therefore, of Mr. Jefferſon, that his neighbor's ſaying there are twenty Gods or no God, (the very crimes expreſſed in the act of Virginia of 1705, c. 30, and of which he is treating) does him no injury in his perſon or his property, is a truth ſelf-evident and incontrovertible ; and this is all he does ſay in the quoted paragraph, for taken together with what precedes and follows, it will admit of no perverſion, or other conſtruction, than that here given. Is this then preaching atheiſm and infidelity ?—Does Thomas Jefferſon ſay that ſuch doctrines *advocated and enforced* (mark the expreſſions) by our neighbors, do us no injury ? Where is the ſhadow of candor in theſe writers ? Their groſs perverſion muſt appear ſtill more inexcuſable, if we reflect, that they muſt have obſerved what Mr. Jefferſon almoſt immediately ſuggeſts—the propriety of ſtigmatizing ſuch *unbelievers*, by rejecting their evidence in courts of juſtice.

The charge of atheiſm might be ſafely truſted to the honeſt indignation of the American world ; above all to the voice of the God of Nature pervading the univerſe, whoſe Almighty power never called into exiſtence an human ſoul, without ſome impreſſion of his being and attributes ; much leſs did he decorate it with the genius and talents—with the benevolence and morality, which even his enemies allow to Thomas Jefferſon. Examine his own writings—ſpeaking of the moral attributes and providence of God, he

thus expreſſes himſelf: (Notes on Virg. p. 237.) *Can the liberties of a nation be thought ſecure, when we have removed their only firm baſis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that theſe liberties are the gift of God; that they are not to be violated but with his wrath; indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is juſt; that his juſtice cannot ſleep for ever;* and yet this is the man they accuſe of Atheiſm!

More prudent detractors have abandoned this deſperate ground; they deny his belief of the chriſtian religion; where are their proofs? Are they from his writings? My fellow-citizens, look at the law which he prepared to eſtabliſh Religious Freedom in Virginia, and mark theſe words: *Well aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free, that all attempts to influence it by temporal puniſhments or burthens, or by civil incapacities, tend only to beget habits of hypocriſy and meanneſs, and are a departure from the plan of the* HOLY AUTHOR OF OUR RELIGION; *who, being lord both of body and mind, yet choſe not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do:* And then permit me to aſk, what chriſtian in any age or clime hath aſſerted the divine nature and power of Chriſt, in terms more impreſſive and affecting? By evidence ſuch as this, which admits of no controverſy, detraction has been driven to her laſt reſource, anonymous calumny; thus you are told by a late writer, that *he brags* he has not been at Church for 15 years: Do you believe this, my fellow-citizens? Did this writer believe it himſelf? Mr. Jefferſon no doubt thinks and acts for himſelf, but ſuch characters are not prone to inſult the opinions of others. If irregular in his attendance at church, that ſenſe and modeſty which no one denies him, would have prevented his boaſting of it; if his obſervance of the Sabbath may not be in ſtrict conformity with rigid rules, an obſervation may with propriety be ſuggeſted; that various modes in this reſpect, diſtinguiſh various ſects of chriſtians, all equally ſincere; altho' the goſpel has undeniably mitigated the rigor of the ancient law, yet ſtill with ſome, a ſolemn and inactive ſilence continues to caſt a gloom over every ſeventh day, from the riſing to the ſetting ſun; whilſt the Catholics, who conſtitute two-thirds of the chriſtian world, dedicate a great portion of Sunday, to muſic, mirth, and feſtivity; which mode is moſt conformable to the doctrines of Chriſt, may remain a doubt, but it is certain, that the different ſects do not mean to inſult or offend each other. To theſe remarks will be added, what there is good ground to believe, that Mr. Jefferſon pays more towards the ſubſtantial ſupport of the miniſtry of the goſpel, than any other individual of Virginia or Maryland. To laviſh money for unneceſſary purpoſes, has never formed any part of his character, and his detractors will hardly attribute this to hypocriſy, or to ſave appearances, for they all tell us, that he is altogether regardleſs of appearances; unleſs indeed, they are determined to aſſert nothing, without contradicting themſelves.

Quitting now a ſubject, which ſhould properly have reſted between the Creator (to whom alone the hearts of all men are open) and his creature; let us turn our attention to the long hackneyed letter, ſaid to have been written by Mr. Jefferſon to Mazzei. Whoever wrote it, all will agree that it is an elegant compoſition, and the truth of every poſition it contains will now be maintained,

without however, admitting Mr. Jefferſon to be the author of a ſingle ſentence of it, for reaſons that will be preſently ſubmitted. At the very threſhold of enquiry, we are to be ſtopped it ſeems, by the clamor, that this letter contains a perſonal attack upon General Waſhington; the ſilent vault of the dead, is to prove no aſylum for the remains of this venerable hero; his name and reputation are ſtill to be dragged forth perpetually, to ſanction and defend the purpoſes of party. But how is General Waſhington implicated in this letter? It ſtates, that an Anglo-monarchic-ariſtocratic faction had riſen up among us, who were attempting to alienate America from France, and bring us under the influence of Britain. Does it ſtate that General Waſhington was of that party? No, he is not even named in the letter—can it be inferred from any fair conſtruction, that he was intended to be included in that deſcription; certainly not. In a ſubſequent part of the letter, the executive power is ſaid to be *againſt us*, but even they are not ſtated to conſtitute a part of that Anglo-monarchic, &c. faction; it muſt be a forced inference to conſtrue it ſo: But that the writer ſhould intend to deſcribe General Waſhington perſonally by the terms Executive Power, is not only inconſiſtent with every mode of common parlance, but is abſolutely incompatible with thoſe facts, which an examination of the ſubject naturally ſuggeſts. No mortal man ever did or ever could govern any country (however ſmall) himſelf; he muſt have miniſters, agents, or perſons connected with him, who call themſelves his friends, but who, in fact, generally attach themſelves to his power for their own purpoſes: No man ever was elevated to the firſt ſtation of ſociety, but he was aſſiſted firſt, and afterwards ſupported, by men of the ſame deſcriptions, and with the ſame views; nor can cuſtom in old eſtabliſhed governments, nor the moſt general and extenſive popularity in new, nor hereditary right in monarchies, nor virtue in republics, preclude the neceſſity of the one deſcription, or exclude the perſevering inſinuations of the other. The celebrated Pulteney, with much truth compared popular government to the ſnake, in which the tail and the body continually puſh forward he head; the paſſions and intereſts of individuals, who thus become connected with a chief, often controul, but rarely can be controuled by the head which appears to direct. That this is an univerſal truth, operating it is true, in a greater or leſs degree, from difference of character, but ſtill always operating; hiſtory, experience & common ſenſe confirm: what was, and ſtill is the fact in America? The efficient Executive Power, during General Waſhington's adminiſtration was, and it ſtill continues in a majority of the Heads of Departments, who conſtituted, and ſtill conſtitute a cabinet council; to interpoſe the perſonal opinion and conſtitutional authority of the Preſident himſelf, in order to controul their deliberations, muſt neceſſarily terminate in a diſmiſſal from office, what is termed a change of miniſtry in Britain, where the perſonal opinions or conſtitutional authority of even the hereditary monarch, ſeldom influences the real and effective adminiſtration of the country. In this view, which is undeniably correct, the term Executive Power (as uſed in Mazzei's letter) becomes intelligible, and no more includes General Waſhington perſonally, than it does Mr. Jefferſon himſelf, who was a member of that cabinet council during the moſt part, if not the whole of that

time, to which the letter can poſſibly allude; particularly at the commencement of the diſpute with France; and was actually the miniſter, who, by his celebrated correſpondence with Mr. Genet, began that alienation from France, which the Britiſh party ſeized with avidity, and finally perverted to purpoſes calamitous to both republics.

That a Britiſh party did exiſt and ſtill exiſts in America, no one will be hardy enough to deny; connections by blood, by marriage, by language, by conſtant intercourſe and trade, by agents, by capital in our funds, by capital and depoſits in, & the almoſt entire diſpoſal of our banks (thoſe great organs of power) and by their extenſive credits to our merchants, form in fact, ſo many and ſuch powerful ſources of influence, that the means can never be wanting, when intereſt or inclination prompt their exertions: by any adminiſtration in this country they will be felt; to many they will be formidable, and to Mr. Adams, they will prove fatal, if they can carry their real point, for he is no longer their man. To this general and undeniable view, it would ſeem almoſt ſuperfluous to add particular proofs: To repeat that an official report was made at an early period of the preſent government, to the Britiſh king in council, by his Miniſter, *that a Britiſh party was already formed in the United States;* and to recall to view the conduct and language held in our public councils and abroad, when the depredations commenced by Britain on our commerce, firſt raiſed the reſentment of America, and prompted meaſures which by reſiſting with energy the evil in its commencement, would have prevented ſimilar aggreſſions from others. The whole voice of the party was then converted into one general echo of *the horrors of war;* but the moment France irritated by the conceſſions in our treaty with England, ſo injurious to them, and encouraged by our tameneſs, followed her example in plundering our trade; *the horrors of war were huſhed in a moment*: the whole vocabulary of ſcurrilous invective was exhauſted in our public acts and debates againſt the French nation individually and aſſociated.

FELLOW-CITIZENS! Time, it has been obſerved, makes more converts than reaſon; let us calmly review the progreſs of thoſe differences which have proved ſo injurious to our trade and proſperity. Scarcely was the firſt anathema thundered againſt France, from the preſidential chair, when a letter appeared in our public prints, ſigned by our ſecretary of ſtate, Pickering, to general Pinckney, then our miniſter on a *pacific miſſion* to that republic: This phænomenon in diplomatic communications, was founded on the negociations of Mr. J—y and Mr. A—s, accuſing the French government of perfidy at the treaty of Paris, which cancelled all their claim to our gratitude for their aſſiſtance during the revolutionary war. Could this be calculated to reſtore good will and harmony? And this too, when Mr. ſecretary had in his poſſeſſion Doctor Franklin's journal of the ſame tranſactions, which diſproved every word he had written, and threw on thoſe gentelemen themſelves, the perfidy to allies; the violation of the inſtructions of their own government, the making common cauſe with our the nenemies, againſt our then friends, and thereby incurring the riſk, if not certain loſs, of the independence of our country, had not our good fortune interpoſed, by the removal of lord Shelburne, at a critical moment. For this—for his expoſure of the

perſidious duplicity of the Britiſh miniſters; for his tranſcendant abilities and envied reputation, and above all, for his firm republican principles, what filth have they collected over the grave of the venerable Franklin? Great luminary of mankind! Thy rays ſhall reach diſtant ages, long after the dim ruſh-lights of thy detractors, ſucceeding in ephemeral rotation, ſhall have all cloſed in everlaſting night. This letter of Mr. Secretary Pickering, publiſhed in our papers here, evidently to alienate the minds of our citizens, by perſuading them that they were under no obligations to France, probably reached the French government, and Mr. Pinckney himſelf, ſooner than in its official form, as newſpapers are conveyed by numerous veſſels, ſurer and quicker, than public diſpatches, by one or two. Thus an act of unneceſſary and wanton inſult, as it related to France, (however uſeful to the party here) probably ruined Mr. Pinckney's negociation there. Three commiſſioners next followed; with whatever inſtructions or views they may have been deputed, they could not have been more unhappily ſelected for the purpoſe of conciliation: One had ever been conſidered as perſonally hoſtile to the French nation, & their revolution: his appointment was an inſult; another was moſt probably actuated by that warmth of temper, which ſtrongly marks his character; a warmth which, however juſtly excited by the unworthy and indelicate treatment he had already received from the French government, muſt ſtill have been unfavorable to temperate diſcuſſion; the third, altho' unobjectionable in every other pnint of view, had never been remarkable for a conciliatory diſpoſition: What a ſtriking contraſt did this miſſion form, to that of Mr. Jay, which had preceded to Great-Britain; he was withdrawn from the important functions of chief-juſtice of the Union, and his appointment avowed and defended by adminiſtration, as being probably agreeable to that court, and conſequently moſt likely to terminate ſucceſsfully; from ſo marked a difference, & from the flow of ſucceſs which had intoxicated the French government, few could have expected a favorable iſſue, but the progreſs of the buſineſs unfolded a ſcene calculated to ſurprize all mankind. All three commiſſioners tranſmit to this country, the moſt ſingular negociation with unaccredited perſons, that has ever been recorded in the annals of diplomacy; none but itſelf can be its parallel; corrupt propoſals and diſhonorable contributions formed its baſis; whether theſe ſprang from unauthorized foreign adventurers, or the French miniſter, ſeems ſtill enveloped in myſtery, eſpecially ſince the public diſavowal of Mr. Gerry to Talleyrand, with reſpect to himſelf and officers; it is moſt probable that it was a clubbed affair between X. Y. Z. and T. perhaps more; bad miniſters are the growth of every age and clime: Two negociators now returned, and altho' the third ſtill remained, tranſmitting unequivocal aſſurances on the part of France, of a deſire to accommodate, yet he was recalled and and diſgraced, as far as a party could diſgrace a man, long diſtinguiſhed for probity and patriotiſm. The event, however, has diſpelled every doubt of their ſincerity; theſe friendly offers were continued and repeated under every change of their government, & thro' every channel, until finally, the Preſident felt himſelf bound by duty to his country, greatly ſuffering, without a proſpect of recompenſe, to liſten to them, and to interpoſe his perſonal

and conſtitutional authority in council, to meet their advances. Shrinking, however, from the torrent of clamor, reproach and obloquy, poured upon him by the Britiſh faction, and a majority of his own cabinet, he delayed the meaſure, until multiplying captures, affecting the vitals of our commerce, compelled him to break thro' all the reſiſtance of the party. The miſſion of the envoys abroad, which in its conſequences produced a diſmiſſion of miniſters at home (altho' not much can be expected from the political caſt of two them,) we have ſtill reaſon to hope, will terminate in a ſucceſsful and honorable accommodation, of all differences between France and the United States, to the utter diſappointment of the real enemies of both, and of all republics; diſappointment we are certainly authorized to ſay, from one of the intercepted leters of the Britiſh miniſter L—n, to the government of Canada, ſtating, *that the government of the United States has given new ſubject of provocation to France by encouraging in conjunction with us (the Britiſh) the negro chief Touiſſaint in meaſures which appear ultimately to tend to a ſeparation of the iſland of St. Domingo from the mother country, whether this affront will be pocketed by the Directory I do not pretend to decide, but I cannot perſuade myſelf that it is probable*; in which ſentiment, a member of the American congreſs ſtrongly ſympathized in his place; but what can we ſay of the other letter of Mr. L—n, *that the government of the United States had engaged to defend Canada from the attack of any power whatever*; is this our boaſted neutrality? If we have boldly ventured into the ocean of European politics by ſuch a guarantee, what is the equivalent we have received? Is it the capture, plunder and condemnation of our trade in Halifax, Naſſau and Kingſton? So much for the enmity to France and attachment to Great Britain, attributed to a party among us, in this letter to Mazzei: with reſpect to the aſſertion, that the form as well as ſubſtance of the Britiſh government are to be introduced here, as the party are not yet agreed, whether this paſſage of the letter ſhould be tranſlated, forms, or etiquette, or ceremonies, or ſimply the *form*, our remarks muſt be poſtponed until it is determined which is right, as they are ſo eſſentially different. The expreſſions ſo often criticiſed, 'the calm of deſpotiſm and tempeſtuous ſea of liberty,' will remain with the monarchical and ariſtocratic views of which it accuſes the party, for full developement, when we ſhall review the character and conduct of Mr. Adams. A few words now as to the letter itſelf.——Its authenticity reſts on the authority of Mr. W. Cobbet, alias Peter Porcupine; either name will need no comment in America for ſome years: he has given us the preciſe date when it was publiſhed in Florence and alſo in Paris, but he has been careful to affix no date to the letter itſelf; this omiſſion, ſo ſuſpicious in itſelf, gives fine ſcope to the malignity of party to aſſign it that, which would beſt ſuit their views; but it cannot be accounted for, unleſs by ſuppoſing it a fabrication, or that the real date, if diſcovered, would have explained away its perverted force, by reference to cotemporary events and opinions; for we muſt all recollect what a rapid ſucceſſion of revolutions, both in government and opinions, the laſt ten years have diſcloſed. As the letter now ſtands, there is the beſt authority for ſaying that the moſt intimate friend of Mr. Jefferſon does not believe it genuine; and that it is ſpuri-

ous, we have reaſon to believe from its being written *in French*, as from Mr. Jefferſon to an old and intimate neighbor (who underſtood Engliſh as well as himſelf) in a tongue abſolutely foreign to them both, and written with all that elegance of idiomatic phraſeology, ſo entirely peculiar to the French language, and which perhaps none but a native Frenchman, ever yet attained. But Mr. Jefferſon, it ſeems, has never come forward to publiſh a denial in four years; would it have been prudent in him to ſuffer his veracity to be queſtioned during ſuch rage of party? What a fine field would he have opened for that hoſt of dirty ſcribblers, who now aſſail his reputation through the numerous preſſes of this widely extended empire? For his ſilence he has at leaſt an illuſtrious example, that of General Waſhton, who for near 18 years ſuffered a ſeries of letters to be impoſed, by the Britiſh, on the world, as his, executed with ſuch plauſibility, from the knowledge they diſcloſed of his private affairs, that even his intimates were deceived: but theſe he never would deny to the world, until about to retire from public life, to prevent the impoſition being extended to poſterity, he had his diſavowal entered in the archives of his country. If this letter of Mazzei's is alſo a fabrication, it is acknowledged that it is executed with ſtill more plauſibility than thoſe impoſed upon us as General Waſhington's; it contains no ſentiments that Mr. Jefferſon, or any other real republican, ought to have diſavowed *at an early period of our rupture with France;* although the prudence, of rendering any foreigner their depoſitary, may well be queſtioned; ſtill, however ſpurious it may be, under exiſting circumſtances, much more cogent reaſons operate, to prevent a public denial by Mr. Jefferſon, than could have influenced General Waſhington; far more powerful than thoſe, which we know, prevented his public diſavowal of Logan's ſpeech: It is well known what efforts were uſed with the public, to perſuade them that this was alſo the compoſition of Mr. Jefferſon; ſtill no circumſtances of accuſation or irritation could extort from him any public explanation. At length the enquiries of a friend obtained an eloquent diſavowal by letter; but under the expreſs injunction that no copy ſhould be given that would authoriſe a publication; and when on the death of that friend, the induſtry of party drew his own letter from its ſilent depoſitary, where it ſhould have remained more ſacred than under the ſeal of ſecrecy, and then publiſhed it to the world; the great maſs of evidence collected in its ſupport, was offered by Mr. Jefferſon to his private friends, in a form, that convinced without *exciting controverſy*.

One other part of the conduct of Mr. Jefferſon—his addreſs to the Senate of the United States, when about to aſſume the office of Vice-Preſident, remains to be conſidered; it is introduced in an hand-bill, ſigned by a reſpectable name, J. T. Chaſe, and for what; to bolſter up the ſinking reputation of Mr. Adams. Mr. Chace ſays, *Mr. Jefferſon, at the laſt election of President was ſet up in oppoſition to Mr. Adams, and the charge that he was the friend of Monarchy was made againſt him by the advocates of Mr. Jefferſon, and ſpread from one end of the continent to the other; that Mr. Jefferſon did not think he was the friend to Monarchy his ſpeech fully proves.* And is then the judgment of Mr. Jefferſon alone to acquit Mr. Adams of the charge of ſupporting the cauſe of hereditary monarchy &

ariſtocracy, and recommending them throughout a long and elaborate work, ſolely and avowedly deſigned to impreſs the American mind? for Mr. Chace offers no reaſons, no explanations, no remarks, on theſe long and often repeated paſſages, quoted from Mr. Adams's work. Is Mr. Jefferſon's ſingle voice to preponderate againſt the evidence of the work itſelf, and the united opinion of Europe and America? for there has been but one opinion among literary men as to the ſcope & tendency of this publication. This ſurely is elevating Mr. Jefferſon to a proud pre-eminence, and ſuch as his opponents could never have ſubmitted to, but in the laſt efforts of deſpair. But it ſhould ſeem that this opinion ought to be direct, poſitive and clear, before we are aſked to ſubmit to it the evidence of our ſenſes and reaſon. Is it ſo, my fellow-citizens? Examine the ſpeech again: not one ſentence, not one word in it, reſpecting Mr. Adams's political principles or opinions; on the contrary, all mention of them appears to have been cautiouſly avoided. Mr. Jefferſon bears teſtimony, from long and intimate acquaintance to Mr. Adams's talents and integrity; they had never been queſtioned;—Mr. Adams's political opinions had alone at that time been attacked. Of Mr. Adams's political opinions Mr. Jefferſon ſays not one word:—the fair inference then is, that as Mr. Jefferſon diſcovered every diſpoſition to recommend Mr. Adams to public confidence, if he could with truth have exculpated him from the great and only charge then againſt him, he would not have paſſed it over in ſilence: but it is ſaid Mr. Jefferſon does more—he prefers Mr. Adams to himſelf, as the conteſt had been between them, and he ſays Mr. Adams was juſtly elected. Let us conſider this!—had Mr. Jefferſon preferred himſelf, it would have been a deſpicable deviation from the laws of propriety; a violation of thoſe decencies of ſocial intercourſe, that conſtitute the charm of civilization, which the precepts of chriſtianity have extended through every walk of private as well as public life; teaching us not to aſſume the firſt place, but to *humble ourselves*, and it would have rendered him truly unworthy to preſide over the United States. Such a preference as we find in Mr. Jefferſon's addreſs, uſual even in private intercourſe, has been long and formally eſtabliſhed, and has now become indiſpenſable in the official acts of men elevated to the firſt ſtations of ſociety;—they mean no more, and are conſidered only, as the uſual compliments of office, and as ſuch were certainly due to the opinion, the American people had juſt then expreſſed, by the preference of Mr. Adams, altho' by ſo ſmall and ſo doubtful a majority. In ſaying this, no queſtion is intended of the ſincerity of Mr. Jefferſon's declarations in favor of Mr. Adams at that time—as far as they really do extend; or of the prayer that he offers for his health and ſafety; in fact, a review of this tranſaction ſo far elevates the character of Mr. Jefferſon, and depreſſes that of Mr. Adams, that the friends of the latter ſhould have hid it, if poſſible, forever from public view. After having then diſcloſed ſo openly, impreſſions ſo favorable to Mr. Adams, and which are now ſo much relied on, how ſtrongly muſt Mr. Jefferſon diſapprove of the conduct of Mr. Adams in office, before he could conſent to become the opponent of his re-election? The very commencement of his adminiſtration preſents us with cauſe ſufficient to juſtify the change. Mr. Jefferſon obſerving the continent ſplit almoſt in twain by diſcordant parties, generouſly comes forward,—rejoicing in the election of Mr. Adams, he recommends him to the confidence of

his friends and fellow-citizens, and offers up, on the pure altar of domeſtic peace, all his proſpects of ambition, rule or power:—The trappings and gew-gaws of office vaniſh in a moment, when the proſpect of ſocial harmony, once more reſtored to his country, opens to his view. What was the conduct of Mr. Adams? A few months had ſcarcely elapſed from his elevation to power, before the newspapers anounce as his, an official anſwer to a public addreſs of the militia officers of the county of Bath, in Virginia: in this he aſks if there is not *a faction in Virginia, that muſt be humbled with the duſt and aſhes?* Is this the ſentiment of a chriſtian? Is this the boaſted chriſtianity of Mr. Adams, ſo regular in his attendance at church? The mild Goſpel, that teaches peace and forgiveneſs to the ſons of men, never touched that boſom where peace and forgiveneſs do not dwell!—This then was the only return made to Mr. Jefferſon; to conſign to duſt and aſhes, at leaſt three fourths of his native State, the moſt populous and extenſive of the Union. Had war followed as was then expected—had the armies in contemplation been raiſed, and the iron hand of ruthleſs power been directed by an heart in which ſuch revenge rankled—what ſcenes of blood and proſcription might have followed? Were theſe the paternal words of a Preſident of America?—No! ſuch language once the ſavage Robeſpierre uſed, when amidſt the phrenzy of contending factions, he let looſe domeſtic carnage, and fierce civil ſtrife, and uprent the boſom of his country.

My Fellow-Citizens! if ever a plaſtic hand was wanting to heal the wounds of domeſtic diſcord; to ſoothe the throbbings of irritation, and to unite our divided citizens once more in the bonds of ſocial harmony, and endearing intercourſe; this is the moment. Who are you to look up to?—to Mr. Jefferſon, who offered ſo generous a ſacrifice of all private views, to public peace; or to Adams, who firſt lighted the blaze of civil diſcord, by conſigning his opponents to duſt and aſhes, and who has ſince fanned the flame, by excluding them from every emolument of their common government.

AGRICOLA.

The following is a Copy of a Letter written to George Waſhington, *from an Old Fellow Soldier, dated*

NEW-YORK, APRIL 25, 1795.

SIR,

THE wiſeſt men do not receive advice with the ſame cordiality that never fails of being returned for applauſe.—It is human nature. Men exalted by ſuperior genius and good fortune are innocently apt to take advice from leſs fortunate men in the light of cenſure, or to conſider it as

queſtioning that judgment which has been proven by ſucceſs. Theſe prejudices produce the moſt ſevere afflictions to greatneſs, but a ſenſe of duty cannot ſubmit to the frailties or prejudices of the greateſt of men. With this impreſſion I addreſs you. The nation holds an intereſt in you, of which it is both tender and jealous. Your ſervices have incorporated your reputation with that of your country. And her liberties and intereſts are dependent thereon, becauſe every ſtep which you may take to the prejudice of the one may be fatal to the other. Every meaſure which can exalt your true glory muſt promote her liberty.

Why is it that the people already begin to expreſs an uneaſy ſolicitude for your honor ? Why do the murmurs of a ſullen diſcontent prevail among thouſands who ſhed their blood in defence of your honor and reputation ?—Heretofore all men have conſidered you as a Being of a ſuperior order. Whence does it proceed that men who are among your moſt ardent friends are obliged to defend your honor by imputing your errors to human fallibility ?

The enquiry is deſerving your notice. If your perſonal fame did not call for it, the conſideration is due to the country. The voice of the nation has lately agreed in attributing this charge to a viſible cauſe. Do not be ſurpriſed, ſir—it is believed that men in whom you repoſe unbounded confidence are laboring for your diſgrace. Do not be confident in your diſcernment, nor believe you are ſuperior to the villainy of men who ſurround you. The part you have taken, and the ſucceſs which has attended your wiſdom and prudence in the revolution, has placed you on ground, which muſt excite envy and hatred. The revolution is a precedent already followed. The ruin of your character would be a powerful means by which to diſcredit all future attempts of oppreſſed nations, to break their ſhackles. To the aſſault of open enemies you are yet invulnerable. That power which has ſuffered moſt by the ſame means that has eſtabliſhed your reputation, is not ſo puny a proficient in intrigue, as not to know that you are to be ruined, only thro' the medium of your friends.

All great changes are the favorite ſcenes of ambitious adventurers. Have you ever examined the characters by which you are ſurrounded ? Has your honor never been awakened by the conduct of any perſon near you, who has betrayed any of the characteriſtics of an adventurer ? Have you never noticed auy man daring and vicious, ambitious and enterprizing, fertile in expedient, and intrepid in executing them—uniting cunning with plauſibility, and parſimony with proſligacy—covetouſneſs with oſtentation ; a man diſgraceful of means to obtain determined ends ; as licentious in principles of government as debauched in private habit ; inſinuating, wily, witty, indefatigable, inquiſitive, impoſing in his opinions and manners, flexible and abounding with flattery to you, pertinacious and imperious to others.

Do you know no ſuch character ? ——Suffer then the counſels of a man removed from the vortex of political turbulence, who has heard & ſeen with compoſure the opinions & arguments of the moſt reſpectable characters in our country : one who has nothing to hope from your favor, nor to fear from the reſentment of your worſt of enemies ; who will delineate to you the reſult of concurring opinions, by pointing out a character in his meaſures and counſels, who threatens to embark you

with him in a troubled ſea, and to raiſe himſelf above your country, or to wreck your reputation and fortune along with his ambition.

I will dally with you no longer: but delneate that character againſt which there is riſing a widely ſpreading and vehement abhorrence.

It is he, who boaſts of your confidence while he abuſes it, who is of doubtful parentage, and yet more doubtful country; whoſe education was Britiſh, as are his political ſentiments and propenſities; in private he is notoriouſly immoral, a faithleſs huſband, and a corrupt member of ſociety; in his ſentiments on government he is avowedly and decidedly hoſtile to that for which he fought, and to which he became a poiſonous exotic while yet its infancy opened a field for adventure and ambition.

It was he, that at the commencement of the revolutionary war, attempted to erect his little creſt in conteſting and oppoſing the principles of liberty and independence as aſſerted by *common ſenſe*.

It was he, who at the commencement of the ſame revolution, when the principles which he oppoſed in writing were found likely to prevail, became an adventurer and a ſoldier in ſupport of them.

It was he, when the revolution was glorioufly terminated, plotted the ruin of your fame, and that of the liberties for which you had fought, by holding out the faſcinating allurements of a crown and monarchical power to you—which you refuſed.

It was he, who in the period between the peace of 1783, and the formation of the conſtitution of 1787, conceived and plotted a ſecond time, the ſcheme of monarchy, which your prudential regard for the voice of the people rendered abortive.

It was he, who in the Federal Convention propoſed, avowed, and advocated a ſyſtem, bearing all the ſtrong marked features of monarchy.

It was he, who, true to his eternal purſuit of monarchy, artfully and deeply intrigued, and cauſed to be ingrafted into the adminiſtration of the government of the United States, principles and maxims adverſe from general liberty, and tending to countenance monarchy.

It was he, who under the intrigues of a foreign diplomatic character, gave riſe to the funding ſyſtem.

It was he, who eſtabliſhed a public debt of eighty millions of dollars, which upon honeſt principles of public faith, would not have exceeded twenty millions.

It was he, who ingrafted the ſyſtem of finance upon principles of gaming, ſpeculation and public fraud.

It was he, who laid down and aſſerted the nefarious principle of the irredeemability of the public debt.

It was he who created and embodied a monied ariſtocracy, who by a commutation of ſupport for profit, intended to deſpoil the people of their independence.

It was he, who incorporated with that ariſtocracy, a body of daring and needy adventurers, cheats, gamblers and ſpeculators; who were raiſed into opulence by the abandoned and diſgraceful robbery of the poor ſoldiers of the revolution, the men who ſhed their blood to eſtabliſh your glory, and the liberties of America.

It was he, whoſe corrupt ſyſtem of finance, adminiſtered ſtreams of wealth to his unprincipled adherents, confidents and relatives.

It was he, who adviſed you to govern through the medium of monied influence, rather than the treacherous attachments of the people.

It was he, that projected the union of a bank with the government,

thereby to ſtrengthen and bind the monied ariſtocracy to a party.

It was he, that attempted to govern the legiſlature of the United States, through the corrupt medium of bank directors and ſtockholders.

It was he, that negociated the corrupt and wicked barter of the aſſumption of ſtate debts for the eſtabliſhment of the city of Waſhington.

It was he, ſir, who adopted and gave currency in the United States to the wicked and abandoned maxims, that "*a public debt is a public bleſſing*"——"private vice public good."

It was he, that betrayed you to grant, contrary to the conſtitution, a charter to the bank of the United States, in conſideration for the auxiliary act which was to ſecure the eſtabliſhment of the city of Waſhington, and which, otherwiſe, would at that time have failed.

It was he, whoſe maxim it is, to direct all legiſlative policy, for the intereſt and benefit of ſupporters of the funds, however adverſe to the intereſts or obligations the legiſlators and other public ſervants owe the people whom they repreſent.

It was he, who covertly and effectually oppoſed the opening of a land office, and the ſale of the weſtern lands, leſt the eſtabliſhment, by expunging the public debt, and promoting republican ſentiments on the frontiers, would remove any pretext for a ſtanding army or a funding ſyſtem.

It was he, that promoted, and largely participated in extenſive private ſpeculations in weſtern lands. while he oppoſed the ſale for the liquidation of the debts of the nation.

It was he, who gave birth to a ſtanding army, and adminiſtered fuel to Indian warfare, as the pretext for continuing it.

It was he, who took into partnerſhip with him, in the adminiſtration of the moſt corrupt ſyſtem of finance, a man whoſe very name is a libel on truth, honor, integrity and virtue.

It was he, who poiſoned your mind, and inſpired diſtruſt againſt men, whoſe virtues you had admired, whoſe talents you extolled, and whoſe republicaniſm you could not doubt.

It is he, whoſe anonymous writings have privately and perpetually aſſailed you with envenomed ſlander againſt ſome of the virtuous and enlightened characters in America.

It is he, who boaſts of his influence over you, equal to that of the wind over the weather-cock, or of the mechanic over the automaton.

It is he, who expoſes your private confidential letters, requiring his "*aid to dreſs up your lucubrations for public view*," in order to impreſs his friends with an idea of your implicit dependence upon him.

It is he, who unfeelingly, and to the diſgrace of all morals, while he boaſts of your confidence, boaſts of his amours and private immoralities.

It was he, that openly and unbluſhingly declared his preference of a monarchical, over every other form of government.

It was he, that foſtered and encouraged every arbitrary principle for adminiſtering the government.

It was he, that gave birth to the odious principles of an exciſe law in a free government.

It was he, who, eager to commence oppreſſion, urged unneceſſary proſecutions under the exciſe laws, precipitated an inſurrection, and then, in your preſence, had the horrid audacity to wiſh the inſurgents had burned a flouriſhing and proſperous town.

It was he, who propoſed in your cabinet council, a ſyſtem of executive government thro' the medium of

eſtabliſhed ſpies and ſecret informers, to be compoſed of the revenue officers of the United States.

It was he whoſe commercial operations of finance were rendered ſubſervient to the commercial intereſts of Great-Britain, the better to enliſt her as an ally in the future movements towards monarchy.

It was he who firſt adventured in an illegal uſe of the public monies, and to diſregard ſolemn appropriations by the legiſlature, which he alſo contrived that you ſhould imitate.

It was he, that proved the uſe & application of public monies never received, by his new invented doctrine of inſtrumentality.

It was he, that to ſhield himſelf from public indignation, cauſed your name to be employed to cover an impoſition on the legiſlature under the plea of forgetfulneſs.

It was he, who advanced deliberate falſhoods in the face of the country, under the name of explanations of his public accounts, and upon detection, retracted them under the ſubterfuge of a miſtake.

It was he, the weight of whoſe influence you found too late, and ſaw reaſon to fear, which induced you to ſuffer inſult and indignity from two of his creatures.

It was he, who influenced the appointment of a ſucceſſor to himſelf, to guard the ſyſtem of ſpeculation with the public treaſure, from public detection.

It was he, that brought within the vortex of treaſury influence, all appointments to office, civil and military, making himſelf to be looked up to, as the ſource and channel of all executive favors.

It was he, that rendered the war department ſubordinate to, and dependant on the treaſury, for the ſame purpoſe.

It was he, who firſt ſuggeſted titles, diſtinctions, and pageantry, for the executive adoption.

It was he, who, whenever it accorded with his ſecret views, ſacrificed or betrayed his moſt confidential friends.

It was he, who introduced myſtery and empiriciſm into executive proceedings, in order to veil encroachments, upon public rights, from public view.

It was he, whoſe wicked politics and intrigues have planted a deep rooted, juſt, and immoveable jealouſy of the executive department.

It was he, who, always ready to take advantage of your prejudices, and to flatter your weakneſſes, avowed, that his aſcendancy in your confidence, was obtained by adminiſtering to your pride.

It was he, that, indifferent to your reputation, daringly violated law & infracted the conſtitution, and gave the firſt example of executive encroachment, which he prevailed upon you, not only to countenance, but to repeat.

It is he to whom the Britiſh government ſecretly look as the inſtrument of their deſigns, whoſe conſequence appears to be devoted to the Britiſh miniſter, Britiſh agents, and a Britiſh faction.

It is he who has long maintained and ſtill maintains a ſecret correſpondence with the moſt corrupt miniſter of the moſt corrupt court in Europe.

It was he who influenced appointments to foreign courts contrary to policy and utility, and who procured to be appointed and maintained at Paris, a miniſter, inimical to that government and hoſtile to republicaniſm.

It was he who volunteered the firſt, as the decided and avowed enemy to the cauſe and liberties of an ally to whom we are under indelible

obligations for aid in eſtabliſhing our own.

It was he that has purſued the progreſs of the French revolution in all its ſtages, with anxious and ardent wiſhes for the ſucceſs of the powers who combined to partition Poland and France.

It was he that propoſed early in your cabinet queſtions of doubt on the acknowledgement of the French Republic—of receiving a miniſter from that republic—and for receiving a miniſter from the uſurper who pretended to the regency of that nation.

It was he who propoſed in your cabinet queſtions of doubt as to the obligations or reſponſibility of the United States to fulfil their ſtipulations of treaties with France.

It was he who propoſed in your cabinet to cauſe an American armed ſhip to fire on a French ſhip of war, and thereby to commence hoſtility and war with the French Republic.

It was he that adviſed and promoted in your cabinet, an uniform ſyſtem of meaſures, hoſtile to France, and friendly to Great Britain.

It was he whoſe ſecret influence in the federal legiſlature prevented every attempt at commercial repriſal on Great Britain for her manifold commercial wrongs to the United States.

It was he who conceived the ſcheme in your cabinet, of a commercial treaty with Great Britain, without the previous advice, conſent, or knowledge of the Senate.

It was he who anxiouſly ſought the appointment of envoy to Great Britain for himſelf, that he might the better cement an union between the governments, more effectually to promote his monarchical views, and cheriſh oppoſition to republicaniſm.

It is he who after a treaty had been concluded adviſed you not to ratify it without Great Britain ſhould withdraw her proviſion orders.

It was he that adviſed you to ratify at a ſubſequent period and from particular and eſpecial motives.

It was he always eager to lower your reputation as conducive to the humiliation of republicaniſm, adviſed you to denounce freedom of opinion and of the preſs in a moſt unpopular attack upon popular ſocieties.

It was he who invariably applied the influence of the government to ſhackle the freedom of the preſs, and through gifts of government ſervices to apply the money of the people, in ſecuring printers and editors, devoted to the ſervice and praiſe of all adminiſtrative meaſures indiſcrimately.

It was he whoſe baleful intercourſe and counſels, firſt caſt a ſhade over your fame, whoſe vices and influence, have precipitated you, from the higheſt pinnacle of human glory, and left the name of Waſhington to deſcend to poſterity, with a luſtre diminiſhed in the cabinet from that ſplendor which it obtained in the field, as the manful aſſerter and greateſt defender of the rights of oppreſſed nations and mankind.

Such, Sir, is the character to whom all the preſent evils of the country, and the ſecret chagrin which you feel are to be attributed; whoſe career has been marked by an uniform effort to derogate from your reputation, and to exalt his own upon the wreck—Praying God that his aſcendancy may no longer prevail, and that for your country's good, and your own honor, you will calmly view this monition as the parting warning of an old friend and fellow ſoldier, I bid you a laſt adieu.

* * * * * *

To the PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES.

Fellow-Citizens,

IN the fourth volume of the laws of the United States, publiſhed at Philadelphia, by William Roſs, under the authority of the ſecretary of ſtate, (p. 43,) you will find the following article in the treaty of peace and friendſhip between the United States, and the Bey of Tripoli, one of the Barbary powers.

Article II. "As the government of the United States of America is not *in any ſenſe* founded on the Chriſtian Religion—as it has in itſelf no character of enmity againſt the laws, religion, or tranquility of Muſſulmen; and as the ſaid ſtates never have entered into any war or act of hoſtility againſt any Mahomedan nation, it is declared by the parties, that *no pretext ariſing from religious opinions* ſhall *ever produce* an interruption of the harmony exiſting between the two countries."

The treaty which contains this article, bears date on the 4th day of November, 1799, and was negociated by *Col. David Humphreys*, then miniſter plenipotentiary of the United States at Liſbon, under the eſpecial authority and inſtructions of *George Waſhington*, late preſident of the United States, and has ſince been approved by the *Senate* of the United States, and ratified by *John Adams*, now preſident of the United States.

Fellow-Citizens,

Although the treaty referred to, was made under the legal and conſtitutioual authority of the United States, was approved and ratified by the conſtituted authorities and is thereby, purſuant to the conſtitution of the United States, declared to be, and is become, the *ſupreme law of the land.* Although the preſident of the United States, the other executive officers, the judges, aud members of Congreſs, and all the legiſlative, executive, and judiciary officers of the reſpective ſtates, have been ſworn to ſupport and maintain the conſtitution, and of conſequence *this treaty*, which is now the *ſupreme law;* yet as great clamor is now attempted to be excited by one or two deſigning and ill-conditioned clergymen in Philadelphia and New-York, on the ground of a ſuggeſtion aſcribed to Thomas Jefferſon, to wit: "That he wiſhed to ſee a government, in which no religious opinions were held; and where the ſecurity for property and ſocial order, reſted entirely on the force of the laws." It may be uſeful, briefly to enquire into the reaſon and propriety of that principle of the conſtitution of the United States, on which is founded this proviſion by treaty, now the *ſupreme law of the land*, to wit: "That the government of the United States of America, is not *in any ſenſe* founded on the Chriſtian Religion."

Fellow-Citizens,

George Waſhington and *John Adams*, have both profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion, and are not to be doubted as true believers; as little will it be doubted, that they both believed in the principle of the conſtitution, which has been mentioned, and that neither were willing to ſubvert the Chriſtian Religion. Whence then the clamor that has been excitted? Is the Chriſtian Religion capable of being ſubverted by the principle in queſtion, or any other? Is not the principle promotive, inſtead

of ſubverſive of the Chriſtian Religion? Truth and charity are the foundations of the Chriſtian Religion, & the Holy Author of it, did not ſee fit to propagate his doctrines by fire & ſword, as was in his Almighty power to do; or, leaving it dependent on reaſon and conviction only, to require the aid of laws and conſtitutions to enforce it. On this holy and divine principle of toleration then, is the conſtitution of the United States grounded, and that proviſion of it, which declares, "That no religious teſt ſhall ever be required, as a qualification to any office or public truſt under tne United States;" as affirmative of that principle, is the beſt ſecurity to the welfare and intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion, and moſt conducive to the civil and religious liberty of the people. Every man knows, that religious oppreſſions beget civil incapacitations, and if the conſtitution had embraced the contrary principle, and by expreſs proviſion recognized the Chriſtian Religion, it is not to be doubted that a Congreſs would be found ſufficiently inclined, by an equally forced conſtruction of the phraſe "*provide for the common defence and general welfare,*" with that which has been contended for in the caſe of eſtabliſhing manufactures, to paſs a law declaratory of an eſtabliſhed church, and national religion—and, by appropriating the public money to its ſupport, to compel all diſſenters, under heavy penalties, to contribute thereto. In ſuch a caſe, *fellow-citizens*, what would become of your much boaſted of, and juſtly prized ſecurity, for your religious liberties, and rights of conſcience—a ſecurity which renders America, at this day, the deſired aſylum of the oppreſſed and perſecuted religioniſts of every ſect and nation?

And what, *fellow-citizens*, prevents an eſtabliſhed church by law, at this moment, but that glorious principle of the conſtitution, ſolemnly recognized by public treaty, and avowed to all the nations of the world, by the preſidents *Waſhington* and *Adams*, approved by the Senate of the United States, and ſworn to be maintained by all the public functionaries of the United States, and of the ſeveral ſtates, as the *ſupreme law of the land*, to wit: "That the government of the United States of America, is not *in any ſenſe* founded on the Chriſtian Religion?"

Finally, *fellow citizens*, ſhall impious men be regarded, who, aſſuming the garb of religion, profaning the ſacred deſk, and blaſphemouſly perverting the doctrines of the Holy Jeſus, attempt to perſuade you that Mr. Jefferſon is an enemy to his God, to religion, and his country, for uttering a wiſh, which the preſidents *Waſhington* and *Adams*, have, by their public acts, ſolemnly confirmed and ſanctioned? A wiſh, ſufficiently evincive of Mr. Jefferſon's wiſe and pious regard to the happineſs of man, and the intereſts of true religion.

A Member of the Proteſtant Epiſcopal Church, not *by law eſtabliſhed.*

Mr. JEFFERSON.

A Pamphlet has recently appeared in Philadelphia, entitled, "*An Addreſs to the People of the United States, with an epitome and vindication of the public life and character of THOMAS JEFFERSON.*—This pamphlet is written with every evidence of conviction, and with a candor & plainneſs, that forms a very conſpicuous contraſt with the ſtyle and *reſorts* of writings to which it is oppoſed. After anſwering in an irrefutable manner every objection worth notice, which has been made to the *moral, religious*, or *political* character of Mr. Jefferſon, he concludes as follows—with a very uſeful outline of Mr. Jefferſon's hiſtory. The author it appears, was an officer during the revolution, and was an eye-witneſs of the movements of the enemy, during the memorable tranſactions in Virginia.

—

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Was born in the year 1743, in the county of Albemarle, in Virginia, where he now reſides. His father was a reputable land-holder of that county, and gave *this*, his eldeſt ſon, a college education at the univerſity of William and Mary, in the city of Williamſburg. After paſſing his degrees, being deſigned for the bar, Mr. Jefferſon commenced a ſtudent at law, under the guidance of George Wythe, now the venerable judge, and ſole chancellor of Virginia.

In 1766, Mr. Jefferſon came to the bar of the ſupreme court of his native ſtate, and continued to practiſe therein with great ſucceſs and reputation, until the commencement of the American revolution in 1775, and the conſequent occluſion of the courts of juſtice; during this period of active practice, the induſtrious mind of Jefferſon found time to digeſt the firſt volume of reports of adjudged caſes in the ſupreme courts of Virginia, which were ever exhibited in that ſtate, and to this day, are admitted authority in thoſe courts, remaining a monument of his early labors, and uſeful talents.

In 1774, when all America were rouſed into action by the aggravated wrongs of the Britiſh government, Mr. Jefferſon ſtepped forward a bold and able champion of his country's rights, and publiſhed his much admired pamphlet, "Summary View of the Rights of Britiſh America," addreſſed to the king, which brought forward againſt the author, threats of proſecution for treaſon, by lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia; threats which produced no other effect on the independent mind of Jefferſon, than publicly to avow himſelf the author, prepared to meet all conſequences.

About this time Mr. Jefferſon married the daughter of Mr. Wayles an eminent counſellor at law, and continued to enjoy uninterrupted domeſtic felicity in the ſociety of one of the moſt amiable women, until the year 1780, when by her death, he became the mourner of her virtues, and the guardian of their two daughters, and ſurviving iſſue, to whoſe education and ſettlement in life, and

the ſervice of his country, he has ever ſince, faithfully devoted himſelf, ſtill remaining a widower.

In the year 1775, Mr. Jefferſon was elected a member of the Virginia convention, and on the 4th of Auguſt in the ſame year, one of the members to repreſent the ſtate, then colony of Virginia, in Congreſs.

In that memorable year, 1776, the natal year of American emancipation from Britiſh tyranny, and of the independence and ſovereignty of the United States, Mr. Jefferſon was one of a committee of five, to wit, Thomas Jefferſon, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingſton; appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence; and it was from the pen, & enlightened mind of Jefferſon, firſt named of the committee, that that glorious inſtrument proceeded, which was reported by the committee, and unanimouſly adopted by congreſs, entitled "*The Declaration of Independence, &c.*" An inſtrument, which, ſo long as the records of time ſhall endure, will perpetuate the fame of its author, and preſerve in the American mind, forever and inſeparable, the names of *Independence* and *Jefferſon*.

In the ſame year, 1776, the ardent mind of Jefferſon, eagerly purſuing the glorious principles of the revolution, and foreſeeing that ſo long as the corruptions of Britiſh ſyſtems exiſted, we were independent in name, not in fact, produced, for the adoption of the legiſlature of his native ſtate, the four following important acts, to wit:

1ſt. An act for eſtabliſhing religious freeedom, publiſhed in this eſſay.

2. An act to regulate deſcents, to prevent eſtates entail, and the rights of primogeniture.

3. An act for the apportionment of crimes and puniſhments.

4. An act to eſtabliſh public ſchools.

The influence of theſe acts upon the relative principles they embrace will be univerſally ſeen, and felt by thoſe who prize civil liberty, as a primary bleſſing, and regard the preſervation of it, as among the firſt beheſts of God to man; whilſt ſyſtems of univerſal toleration in matters of religion; for an equal diſtribution of property, and in ſubverſion of the ariſtocratic and unnatural principle of entail and primogeniture right: for ameliorating the ſanguinary code of criminal law; and for extending to the pooreſt claſs of our citivens, the benefit of education at the public expenſe, will be viewed as the emanations of a great & good mind, zealouſly endeavoring to promote the happineſs, and improve the condition of his fellow-beings.

Equally evincive of watchful regard to the rights of his countrymen, was the ſcheme and ſuggeſtion made by Mr. Jefferſon, for the formation and adoption of the conſtitution of Virginia, in the ſame year, for prefixing thereto "A Bill of Rights, declaratory of the natural and unalienable rights of man," which was accordingly done.

In the year 1778, Mr. Jefferſon being then a member of the Virginia legiſlature, preſented to that body the act "to prevent the importation of ſlaves," which was enacted into a law in the month of October, in the ſame year, and was ſhortly after followed by another act "to authoriſe manumiſſions," being the commencement of a ſyſtem of gradual emancipation, alſo propoſed by him.

In the year 1779, Mr. Jefferſon, at the age of 36, was choſen governor of Virginia, and continued in that office until June, 1781; during which time the ſtate experienced

three invaſions, and was alſo bro't into a critical ſtate of colliſion reſpecting its boundary lines with two neigbboring ſtates, North-Carolina and Pennſylvania. His conduct in that ſtation, amidſt the jarring conflicts and trying difficulties of foreign invaſion and domeſtic diſquietude, was ſuch, as ſecured to him, ſix months after he left the office, and upon the fulleſt public enquiry, the *unanimous* vote of thanks of the legiſlature, conſiſting of 180 members, "for his attentive adminiſtration of the powers of the executive, whilſt in office.

It was during the ſame year, 1781, amidſt the cares of government and ſcenes of private affliction, that Mr. Jefferſon prepared his celebrated work, afterwards publiſhed in France and which he modeſtly ſtyled, '*Notes on Virginia.*' In this work, ſo juſtly admired by all the learned world, for its philoſophical reſearch, ingenious theory, and able diſquiſition, equally evidencing an enlarged, liberal, and pious mind; the author, in a ſuperior ſtyle of eloquence, boldly attacks, and fully refutes the fallacious theories of Mr. Buffon and the Abbe Raynal, which tend to diſparage the animal and its ſpecies, both man and beaſt, of the American world, and reduce them to a ſcale ſmaller than thoſe of Europe; vindicating with truth and intelligence, the equal diſtribution of nature's bleſſings to America.

In the year 1783, Mr. Jefferſon was again appointed to a ſeat in congreſs from his native ſtate, and in the following year, on the 7th of May, was nominated by that honorable body miniſter plenipotentiary of the United States to the court of France, as the ſucceſſor of our illuſtrious Franklin, whither he embarked early in the ſame year, and remained abſent from the United States in the execution of the duties of that important truſt, until the month of October, 1789, when he returned home by permiſſion of the then preſident Waſhington, who, upon being elected to the chief magiſtracy of the federal government, immediately deſtined Mr. Jefferſon to fill the next moſt honorable and confidential ſtation in the executive government near his own perſon.

During his miſſion to France, Mr. Jefferſon with that peculiar addreſs, intelligence and attention to promote the eſſential intereſts of the United States, which directs all his conduct, obtained from the French king an arrete, highly beneficial to the American commerce, for the free admiſſion, exempt from the cuſtomary foreign duties, of oil, fiſh and whalebone, the product of the American fiſheries, into certain ports, and for the ſale of American built ſhips in all the ports of France, benefits, which our eaſtern brethren continued to reap the peculiar advantage of until the commenement of the revolutionary convulſions which have agitated that nation.

About the ſame period alſo, Mr. Jefferſon, in conjunction with our immortal Franklin, negociated with a miniſter from the court of Pruſſia, then at the Hague, that celebrated treaty known by the name of the "*Pruſſian Treaty*," in which an aſtoniſhed world has, for the firſt time, ſeen a public avowal and poſitive proviſion by treaty, between two ſovereign and independent nations, for the eſtabliſhment of thoſe two great and glorious principles, promotive of univerſal peace and happineſs, to wit, 1ſt. "*That free ſhips ſhall make free goods;* and 2d "*That privateering in time of war ſhall be aboliſhed;*" principles which it were to be wiſhed could be re-

dered univerſal and eternal.—Mr. Adams, now Preſident of the United States, was one of the commiſſion for negociating this treaty, and on its completion it was ſent over to London, where Mr. Adams then reſided as miniſter of the United States, for his ſignature. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Adams could not be content to retain to himſelf a ſhare of the glory which reflects on the authors of this celebrated treaty. But, unhappily for our country, ſince he became preſident of the United States, we have ſeen him nominate his ſon John Quincey Adams, as miniſter to the court of Pruſſia, for the expreſs purpoſe, as declared, of renewing the treaty with that nation, which having been limited to continue in force for ten years only, had expired. Accordingly another treaty has been made by his ſon with Pruſſia, which has been approved by a majority of the ſenate and ratified by the preſident, but which inſtead of renewing and continuing the old treaty, is in itſelf, a new one, expreſsly abandoning and renouncing the two ineſtimable principle, 1ſt. "*That free ſhips make free goods;*" and 2d. "*that privateering in time of war be aboliſhed;* principles which, it appears from the correſpondence accompanying the negociation, laid before the ſenate of the United States by the Preſident, the wiſe and enlightened miniſters of the Pruſſian monarch, were bro't with great difficulty and reluctance to abandon on the earneſt ſolicitation and reiterated demand of the American negociator, under the ſuggeſtion that the maritime powers, *particularly G. Britain*, would never ſanction or permit them.

In the year 1789, Mr. Jefferſon being returned to the United States and appointed by Preſident Waſhington, ſecretary to the department of ſtate, immediately entered on the arduous duties of that important ſtation, having previouſly ſtipulated with the Preſident, that in conſideration of the many years abſence from his family and eſtate, he might be permitted, at the expiration of the conſtitutional term for which the Preſident was elected, to retire from public ſervice.

The firſt reſult of the labors of Mr. Jefferſon in the department of ſtate, were exhibited to congreſs in the following reports, to wit:

1ſt. A report on the fiſheries of the U. States.

2d. A report on coins, weights and meaſures.

3d. A report on the waſte and unappropriated lands of the United States.

4th. A report on the privileges and reſtrictions on the commerce of the U. States in foreign countries.

Each of theſe reports diſplay the uſual accuracy, information, and intelligence of the writer.

But it was reſerved for amore critical and delicate period in the affairs of the United States, that the pre-eminent talents of the American ſecretary ſhould become moſt conſpicuous, and intereſtingly uſeful to his country: the non-execution of the treaty of peace with the U. States on the part of Great-Britain; her detention of our Weſtern Poſts, and the attendant ſpoliations on our commerce, both by Great Britain and France, then at war with each other, added to the intrigues of the miniſter of the latter, Genet, all conduced to a ſituation difficult and perplexing. Beſides which, Spain continued to withhold from us the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, ſo eſſential to all Weſtern America. In this ſtate of things, the juſt confidence

which the diſcriminating mind of Waſhington had repoſed in Mr. Jefferſon, was amply repaid, by that promptneſs, zeal and ability with which the American ſecretary, contributed by his labours, to relieve the executive from embarraſſment.—Through a ſeries of maſterly and unequalled diplomatique correſpondence, which he maintained, at the ſame time, with the reſpective miniſters of Great Britain and France—namely, Hammond and Genet; he traverſed and rebutted their reſpective cauſes of charge and complaint againſt the United States, and having fully proved the various aggreſſions and infractions of treaty on the part of their reſpective governments, pointed to the means for preſerving the honor and maintaining the rights of his own country, whilſt alike ſuperior to the intrigues of Great-Britain or of France, he fully manifeſted that he held no particular attachment to any foreign nation, but was equally prepared, with the deciſion, firmneſs and intelligence, of a true American, to oppoſe and reſiſt the aggreſſions of all. The recall of Genet, and the appointment of his ſucceſſor, with the ſubſequent proceedings between the United States and France, the appointment of Mr. Jay, his treaty with Great Britain, and the recall of Mr. Hammond, appointment of Mr. Liſton, and ſubſequent proceedings with Great-Britain are all well known. In reſpect to Spain, the labours of Mr. Jefferſon were more immediately effective and complete. Having poſſeſſed the Commiſſioners of the U. States then at Madrid, negociating a treaty with the Court of Spain, with the moſt ample and pointed inſtructions, and of the form and proviſions of a treaty, predicated on the baſis of the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, it only remained for Mr. Thomas Pinckney, then Miniſter from the United States at London, under ſpecial inſtruction from the Preſident, and appointed envoy for that purpoſe, to repair to Madrid, & ſeizing the favourable object for effecting it, to accompliſh this deſirable work. This was accordingly done, with equal promptneſs and deciſion on his part, and jointly to that, and the labours of the American ſecretary in the cabinet, are the U. States indebted for the moſt liberal, honorable, and beneficial treaty they have ever yet entered into with a foreign nation. Here the review of the public life and labours of Mr. Jefferſon ceaſes.

About this time, having at the preſſing entreaty of the then Preſident Waſhington, remained one year longer at the head of the department of ſtate, than he had before ſtipulated to do, he reſigned his office, and retired with the warmeſt thanks and regret of the Preſident, Waſhington, to his eſtate at Monticello, in Albemarle county, Virginia, where he continued for upwards of two years uninterruptedly to enjoy the ſweets of domeſtic eaſe, and a reſpite from the fatigues of public life, following with avidity his favorite purſuits of philoſophical reſearch and agricultural improvement, until the voice of his country again ſummoned him to the more active ſcenes of public duty, & placed him in nomination for the preſidential chair, as the ſucceſſor of Waſhington. The iſſue of that election is well known, and but for a falſe return in one ſtate, and the ſuppreſſion of a return in another, Mr. Jefferſon would have been declared Preſident, as the returns however ſtood before Congreſs, it appeared that he had 68 votes, and the latter 71, conſequently the latter was declared Preſident, and the former Vice-Preſident of the U. States.

In the month of January, 1797, Mr. Jefferſon was elected Preſident of the American Philoſophical Society, held at Philadelphia, as ſucceſſor of the great and virtuous Rittenhouſe, who was the immediate ſucceſſor of the immortal Franklin, the founder of the ſociety.

And now, *for the ſecond time*, the voice of his country has placed Mr. Jefferſon in nomination for the PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR.

Such, Fellow-Citizens is the TRUE and REAL character of THOMAS JEFFERSON, unaided by artificial colouring, or the falſe varniſh of deceptive flattery.

AMERICANUS.

Pennſylvania, July, 1800.

THE DAY-STAR OF LIBERTY.

Tune—"*General Wolfe.*"

O'ER the vine-cover'd hills & gay regions of France,
See the day-ſtar of liberty riſe;
O'er clouds of detraction, unwearied advance,
And hold its new courſe thro' the ſkies.
An effulgence ſo mild, with a luſtre ſo bright,
All Europe with wonder ſurveys;
And from deſarts of darkneſs, and dungeons of night,
Contends for a ſhare of the blaze.

Let Burke, like a bat, from its ſplendor retire,
A ſplendor—too ſtrong for his eyes;
Let pedants and fools his effuſions admire,
Entrap't in his cob-webs, like flies:
Shall phrenzy, and ſophiſtry, hope to prevail,
Where reaſon oppoſes her weight.
When the *welfare of millions* is hung in the ſcale,
And the ballance yet trembles with fate?

Ah! who 'midſt the horrors of night would abide,
That can taſte the pure breezes of morn;
Or who, that has drank of the chryſtalline tide,
To the ſeculent flood would return?
When the boſom of beauty, the throbbing heart meets,
Ah! who can the tranſport decline?
Or who, that has taſted of liberty's ſweets,
The prize, but with life, would reſign?

But 'tis o'er high heaven the deciſion approves—
Oppreſſion has ſtruggled in vain;
To the hell, ſhe has form'd, ſuperſtition removes;
And tyranny bites his own chain.
In the records of time, a *new æra* unfolds,
All nature exults in its birth:
His creation, benign, the Creator beholds,
And gives a new charter to earth.

O catch its high import, ye winds, as ye blow!
O bear it, ye waves, as ye roll!

From regions that feel the ſun's vertical glow,
To the fartheſt extremes of the pole.
Equal laws—equal rights—to the nations around,
Peace and friendſhip, its precepts impart:
And wherever the footſteps of man ſhall be found,
May he bind the decree on his heart.

:o:

Serious Considerations,

WHY

JOHN ADAMS SHOULD NOT BE ELECTED PRESIDENT.

Addreſſed to the CITIZENS of the United States.

FELLOW-CITIZENS!—

THE cauſe of your revolution is moſt fully and ably ſet forth in your Declaration of Independence, by that ſtateſman and patriot, Thomas Jefferſon. The grievances there ſtated, gave riſe to that generous effort of the American people, to ſhake off that yoke of oppreſſion, and redreſs thoſe wrongs, which neither petitions nor remonſtrances could effect.

Reflecting ſeriouſly upon the ſtate of this country, at the commencement of that period, and contraſting it with the preſent, I was ſtruck ſo forcibly, as led me to exclaim, "Surely, the American people were unworthy of that freedom, with which Providence bleſſed the ſucceſs of their arms!" Perhaps you will be aſtoniſhed at a reflection ſo ſevere; but ſhould the ſtatement which I intend to lay before you, carry the ſame conviction to you, no doubt you will alſo exclaim——'Tis true, we were unworthy of the freedom we enjoyed; and Providence, as a puniſhment, has permitted us to be the means of robbing ourſelves of thoſe very bleſſings we fought and bled to enjoy!

The following are the eight and twenty charges exhibited againſt the Britiſh Tyrant, in your Declaration of Independence, as the cauſe of your revolution; and over againſt each, I will contraſt the preſent ſtate of your affairs. Judge then, for yourſelves, who ought to be your Preſident, ADAMS or JEFFERSON.

1ſt. "He has refuſed his aſſent to laws the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public good."

1ſt. Aſſent has been refuſed to laws the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public good, becauſe they had originated by the republican party: thus ſacrificing the public good to party intrigue and animoſity.

2d. "He has forbidden his governors to paſs laws of immediate and preſſing importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their operation till his aſſent ſhould be obtained; and when

ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them."

3d. "He has refuſed to paſs laws for the accommodation of large diſtricts of people, unleſs thoſe people would relinquiſh the right of repreſentation in the legiſlature; a right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to tyrans only."

4th. "He has called together legiſlative bodies at places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the depoſitary of their public records, for the ſole uſe of fatiguing them into a compliance with his meaſures."

5th. "He has diſſolved repreſentative houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing with manly firmneſs his invaſions on the rights of the people."

6th. "He has refuſed for a long time after ſuch diſſolutions, to cauſe others to be elected; whereby the legiſlative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exerciſe; the ſtate remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the danger of invaſion from without, and convulſions within."

7th. "He has endeavored to prevent the population of theſe ſtates; for that purpoſe obſtructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their migrations hither; and raiſing the conditions of new appropriations of lands."

8th. "He has obſtructed the adminiſtration of juſtice, by refuſing his aſſent to laws for eſtabliſhing judiciary powers."

6th. This, and the four preceding charges, are ſo well guaranteed by, and ſo directly oppoſite to the very eſſence of our government and ſtate conſtitutions, that we may reſt ſatisfied they will be the very laſt to be imitated.

7th. The population of theſe ſtates has been endeavored to be prevented; for that purpoſe, the laws of naturalization of foreigners have been altered, and others paſſed, which prevents the full operation of ſome ſtate laws, purpoſely made to invite emigrants hither.

8th. The adminiſtration of juſtice has been obſtructed by judge Chaſe's declaring ONE MAN above the laws; and by refuſing citizens ſufficient time to procure the attendance of diſtant, but neceſſary witneſſes. The ſame man, who now is rewarded by one of the firſt offices in the gift of the executive, was tried before Congreſs for revealing (to his partner in trade) a ſecret, on which the fate of our revolution at that time, much de-

9th. " He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their ſalaries."

10th. " He has erected a multitude of new offices, and ſent hither ſwarms of officers, to harraſs our people, and eat out their ſubſtance."

11th. " He has kept ſtanding armies among us in times of peace, without the conſent of our legiſlatures."

12th. " He has affected to render the military independent of, and ſuperior to the civil power."

13th. " He has combined with others to ſubject us to a juriſdiction foreign to our conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his aſſent to their pretended legiſlation."

14th. " For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us."

15th. " For protecting them by a mock trial, from puniſhment, for any murders which they ſhould commit on the inhabitants of theſe ſtates."

16th. " For cutting off our trade with all other parts of the world."

17th. " For impoſing taxes on us without our conſent."

pended; and by which he acquired a part of the wealth he now enjoys.

9th. Your judges are dependant on the will of the preſident alone for the tenure of their offices; whereby, in ſtate proſecutions, corrupt and partial judges are ſwayed to ſide with thoſe from whom they hold their offices.

10th. You have likewiſe had a multitude of new offices erected, from Philadelphia to Conſtantinople. You have had ſwarms of officers; ſome have harraſſed our citizens, and all have eaten of their ſubſtance.

11th. You have had a proviſional, if not a ſtanding army, among you, in times of peace.

12th. Some of your military, have affected to render themſelves independent of, and ſuperior to the civil power.

13th. You have men now among you, combining with others, to ſubject you to a juriſdiction, foreign to the ſpirit and intent of your conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our laws.

14th. You have had bodies of armed men, quartered among you, in moſt towns of the Union.

15th. They have been protected from being arreſted for debt to a certain amount, without any trial whatever; whereby, the idle and profligate, were encouraged to defraud the induſtrious citizen of his juſt due.

16th. Your trade has been, and ſtill is cut off from a great part of the world; and is cut off in the remainder, to this day.

17th. You have taxes levied upon you, with conſent of your legiſlature; but far exceeding the ſtrict economy of Republican government; and far exceeding thoſe which you declared a crime in the Britiſh tyrant.

18th. "For depriving us in many caſes, of the benefit of trial by jury."

19th. "For tranſporting us beyond ſeas to be tried for pretended offences."

20th. "For aboliſhing the free ſyſtem of Engliſh laws in a neighboring province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an example, and fit inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute rule into theſe colonies."

21ſt. "For taking away our charters, aboliſhing our moſt valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our government."

22d. "For ſuſpending our own legiſlatures, and declaring himſelf inveſted with power to legiſlate for us in all caſes whatſoever."

23d. "He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war againſt us."

24th. "He has plundered our ſeas, ravaged our coaſts, burned our towns, and deſtroyed the lives of our people."

18th. Aliens, invited among you by exiſting laws, were, by the late alien bill, expoſed to the danger of being tranſported without trial by jury.

19th. Jonathan Robins, declared and believed, to be a citizen of the United States, has been tranſported beyond ſeas, there tried and executed for pretended offences.

20th. A ſyſtem of Engliſh common law and precedents has been endeavored to be introduced in a neighboring ſtate, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary deciſion, ſo as to render it at once a fit inſtrument and example for introducing the ſame abſolute rule into the reſt of theſe ſtates.

21ſt. If you have not been deprived of your charters, yet ſome of your moſt valuable rights and privileges have either been violated or ſuſpended, and altho' the fundamental forms of our governments cannot well be altered, yet has our fundamental conſtitution been moſt ſtrangely perverted, to anſwer party purpoſes. You have the evidence of John Adams, your preſident "that there is a ſtrong party in this country, devoted to the views and deſigns of Britain: And that you can never be happy, unleſs your chief magiſtrate is *hereditary*."

22d. This cannot take place before you are HAPPY; or, as Mr. Adams ſays, until we have an hereditary preſident.

23d. Has not a perſecuting war been waged againſt all the Republican Printers in the United States, as though they were out of the protection of government? Has not an exterminating war (as it were) been carried on againſt them with the moſt ſettled and inveterate hatred?

24th. Are not your ſeas ravaged at this very moment?—Nay! in ſome inſtances, your ſhores and rivers have not eſcaped plunder; and

25th. "He is, at this time, tranſporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, deſolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumſtances of cruelty and perfidy, ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous ages, & totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation."

26th. "He has conſtrained our fellow-citizens, taken captives on the high ſeas, to bear arms againſt their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themſelves by their hands."

27th. "He has excited domeſtic inſurrections amonſt us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the mercileſs Indian ſavages, whoſe known rule of warfare is, an indiſcriminate deſtruction of all ages, ſexes, and conditions."

28th. "In every ſtage of theſe oppreſſions, we have petitioned for redreſs in the moſt humble terms: our repeated petitions have been anſwered only by repeated injury. A prince, whoſe character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

who will ſay, how many (who have been preſſed) of your countrymen have fallen victims to the cruel treatment they have received.

25th. Who will deny that he has tranſported bands of emiſſaries here, to complete the works of deception and intrigue; which, in the end, would lead to the works of death, deſolation, and tyranny?

26th. You have ſuffered your fellow-citizens, taken captives on the high ſeas, by the Britiſh tyrant, to be conſtrained to bear arms againſt their friends, and become their executioners, or fall themſelves by their hands.

27th. He has excited domeſtic inſurrection among us, in the affair of Blount. He has brought on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the mercileſs Indian ſavages, in ſome inſtances commanded by as inhuman Britiſh ſlaves, whoſe known rule of warfare is, an indiſcriminate deſtruction of all ages, ſexes, and conditions.

28th. In many inſtances you have petitioned for a repeal of ſundry laws, which you deemed to be obnoxious to the American people, & contrary to the ſpirit and intent of our conſtitution; yet your repeated petitions have been anſwered only by repeated neglect.

Thus, my fellow-citizens, in the firſt column you perceive your ſituation at the commencement of your revolution; and at the concluſion of which, you found yourſelves freed from every grievance therein complained of. In the ſecond column, you perceive your preſent ſituation contraſted with the former—the difference alas! is but too ſmall.

You will naturally enquire, How came we in our preſent ſituation?—and, "What muſt we do to be ſaved?" To the firſt, you will find an anſwer when you are told; you know not the value of the bleſſings you enjoyed, or you would not have been ſo long inattentive to the conduct of ſome of your ſervants, whoſe ambitious deſigns prompted them to improve the favorable opportunity your negligence afforded them of ad-

vancing their own views; and to the latter, this will ſuffice—To effect a change of meaſures, a change of men is neceſſary. And,

Unleſs the CHANGE doth ſoon take place,
The CROWN from CAP will win the race.

VIEWS

OF THE

Public Debt, Receipts and Expenditures of the United States. By *Albert Gallatin.*

PUBLIC DEBT.

THE Secretary of the Treaſury, in a letter to the committee of ways and means, dated 22d January, 1800, gave it as his opinion, that "the principal of the debt of the United States had *increaſed*, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the preſent government, the ſum of dols. 1,516,338 50. A committee of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, appointed on the 20th of March following, "to examine the accounts of the United States, relating to the public debt, and to report the amount reſpectively incurred & extinguiſhed, and generally ſuch facts as relate to the increaſe or diminution of the ſame, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the government of the United States under the preſent conſtitution," reported on the 8th May, a number of ſtatements furniſhed by the treaſury department, and as the reſult drawn by them from thoſe ſtatements, that the public debt, inſtead of having *increaſed* one million and a half as ſtated by the ſecretary of the treaſury, or to a larger amount, as had been ſuggeſted, was, on the 1ſt January, 1800, *diminiſhed*, by a ſum 1,092,841 dollars and 48 cents, if contraſted with the debt on the 1ſt January 1790, and by a ſum of 3,972,878 dollars and 66 cents, if compared with the debt of 1ſt January 1791. The report was printed by order of the Houſe, but never acted upon; nor any occaſion offered, during the remainder of the ſeſſion to inveſtigate its principles.

The different reſults exhibited by the Secretary in January, and by the committee in May, at once ſhows that the ſubject may be conſidered in different views, and embraces not only matters of fact, but queſtions of opinion. Whether the view taken by the committee is correct or not, is not a queſtion, to be decided by facts only, but by reaſoning; and their report, not being confined, as ſeems, to have been intended by the Houſe, to matters of fact, muſt be conſidered only as the *opinion* of a few individuals, and gives no further weight to that opinion, than can be derived from the correctneſs of the

reaſoning on which it is grounded. It is intended, in this eſſay, to examine ſome of the facts contained in the treaſury ſtatements, to diſcuſs the grounds of the opinion of the committee, and to add ſome general obſervations on the finanical operations of the government of the United States. The ſhort time that the writer can beſtow on the inveſtigation is no apology for any thing contained in it, but will account for any omiſſion. Whenever ſuch omiſſion occurs, the facts and opinions of the ſtatements and report are omitted as correct.

The progreſs or diminution of the public debt, during any given period, may be ſtated in two different ways, which conſtitute two different views of the ſubject.

1ſt, The amount of the debt, as it did really exiſt, at the beginning and end of the period, may be ſimply ſtated without making any deductions reſulting from collateral conſiderations; and the difference between the two amounts will ſhow what may be called the nominal increaſe or diminution of debt during the period.

2d, From the nominal or apparent amount of debt, thus exiſting at the beginning and end of the period, may be reſpectively deducted the amount of funds actually poſſeſſed at thoſe two different times by government and applicable to the reduction of the debt; and the reſult will give a more general comparative view of the finanical ſituation of government than can perhaps be derived from the inſulated conſideration of the amount of public debt.

The firſt way is that which has been univerſally adopted in other countries in ſtatements of that kind. When the amount of the public debt of Great Britain is ſtated, the nominal amount is always given, without making any deductions on account of any funds or reſources which might be applied to the payment of ſome part of it. Thoſe funds being perpetually liable to be diverted to other purpoſes, no deduction is ſuppoſed to be allowable, until after the money has actually been applied to the reduction of the debt. Yet it is certainly proper, in order to have a full and comprehenſive view of the ſubject, to ſtate the account both ways. If an adminiſtration ſhall have contracted during a certain period, a debt of one million of dollars, but ſhall leave in the treaſury one million of dollars more than was in it at the commencement of the period, and that million not charged with any incumbrance, nor requiſite to defray any authoriſed expence, it cannot be denied, that, notwithſtanding the nominal increaſe of debt, the finanical ſituataion of the country is not changed. It is, nevertheleſs, evident, that this laſt mode is more uncertain and more liable to induce in error, on account of the difficulty of aſcertaining with preciſion, what are the funds or reſources actually poſſeſſed by government and ſtrictly applicable to the reduction of the debt.

The ſtatements furniſhed to the committee of the treaſury department are intended to give the amount of debt as it really did exiſt on the 1ſt days of January 1790, 1791, & 1800, and their reſult ſhows ſimply the nominal difference of debt on thoſe reſpective days with only one exception. The ſhares owned by government in the Bank of the United States are deducted from the nominal amount of debt on the 1ſt January 1800; and the deduction ſeems proper, even on the principle of ſtating that nominal amount, becauſe thoſe ſhares yield to government annual dividends, which are a proper offset againſt an equal a-

mount of the intereſt paid on the public debt. The *poſſeſſion* of thoſe ſhares is preciſely the ſame thing as the *reduction* of an amount of debt coſting government an annual intereſt equal to the dividends receivable on the ſhares.

The report of the committee is intended to give a comparative view of the financial ſituation of the U. States, by deducting from the nominal amount of debt on thoſe days, what they ſuppoſe to be "certain funds acquired by the government, and which may be applied to face the foregoing debt."

The amount of the Public Debt is thus ſtated by the Secretary of the Treaſury.

On the 1st January, 1790.

FOREIGN DEBT.			
Principal . .	10,304,635 15		
Arrears of Int. to this day,	1,696,562 92		
		. .	12,001,198 07
Debt to foreign Officers			186,988 23
DOMESTIC DEBT.			
Principal . .	28,630,190 73		
Intereſt to this day .	10,923,997 82		
		. .	39,554,188 55
ASSUMED DEBT.			
Principal of State debts aſſumed .	15,082,771 33		
Intereſt on do. to this day . .	1,379,110 85		
Principal of balances funded to creditor States	3,517,584		
			19,979,466 18
Debts diſcharged in Specie . . .			515,460 94
		Total	72,237,301 97

On the 1st January, 1791.

Amount of debt on 1st January 1790 per above			72,237,301 97
Intereſt on foreign debt for 1790	474,715 11		
deduct monies in Holland . .	132,475 31		
			342,239 80
Intereſt on domeſtic debt for 1790 .	1,688,962 01		
Do. on aſſumed debt for do. . .	1,045,669 64		
			2,734,631 65
			75,314,173 42
Intereſt on aſſumed debt for 1791 .	1,045,669,64		
Intereſt on balances for creditor States for 1792, 1793, and 1794	422,110 08		
		.	1,467,779 72
		Total	76,781,953 14

On the 1st January, 1800.

Foreign Debt.			10,819,000
Six per cent. ſtock, deducting the ſums purchaſed, or reimburſed	25,030,467 59		
Deferred ſtock do. . .	13,682,944 17		
Three per cent. ſtock do. .	19,086,708 54		
Five and half per cent ſtock do.	1,847,500		
Four and half per cent ſtock	176,000		
			59,823,620 30
Six per cent ſtock of 1796 .	80,000		
Six per cent Navy ſtock 1799	929,200		
Eight per cent ſtock of do.	5,000,000		
			6,009,200
Loans obtained from the Bank	3,640,000		
Deduct Bank ſhares owned by U. S. at par . . .	888,000		
			2,752,000
		Total	79,403,820 30

Thus it appears on the face of that document, that, ſuffering its details to be altogether correct, and conſidering the whole of the aſſumed debt to have been a proper debt of the United States contracted by the former government, the nominal debt had, on the 1st January, 1800, increaſed by a ſum of 7,166,518 dollars and 33 cents, from the 1st January 1790; by a ſum of 4,089,646 dollars and 88 cents, computing from 1st January 1791; and by a ſum of 2,621,867 dollars and 16 cents, if we contraſt the preſent debt with the total amount of old debt as funded by government. It is ſtated as a matter of fact, that the debt on the 1st January 1790 was ſeven million of dollars leſs than it is now. It is only by deductions and arguments that a contrary reſult can be made to appear. The concluſions of the committee, ſo far as they differ from this firſt reſult, reſt no longer on arithmetical preciſion, but on the ſuppoſed correctneſs of their aſſumed poſitions.

The deductions made by the Committee from the amount of debt ſtated by the Secretary of the Treaſury are as follows—

From the nominal amount of debt on 1st Jannary 1790		72,237,301 97
1st. Proceeds of lands on lake Erie, ſold to Pennſylvania by the former government, and paid in certificates . . .	151,392 41	
2. Debts due to the United States, on balances of accounts which originated under the former government, and received, in ſpecie	62,586 74	
3. Debts due by the United States [being part of the ſum of dollars 515,560.94 included in the amount of debt due on 1st January 1790] diſcharged before 1790	15,927 18	

4. Cash in treasury, or in hands of Collectors on 1st January 1790	111,367 45	
5. Uncollected Custom House bonds	590,468 60	
		931,742 33
Leaving for "amount of debt on 1st January, 1790," according to committee		71,305,559 64
From the nominal amount of debt on 1st Jan. '91		76,781,953 14
1. 2. 3. Lands sold to Pennsylvania, debts due to the United States, and debts due by the United States, discharged before 1790, as per above . .	229,906 28	
4. Public debt purchased or discharged during 1790 . . .	518,424 08	
5. Cash in treasury, or in hands of Collectors on 1st January 1791 .	795,810 83	
6. Uncollected Custom House bonds	1,052,215 13	
		2,596,356 32
Leaving for "true amount of debt on 1st January 1791," according to committee		74,185,596 82
From the nominal amount of debt on 1st January 1800 . . .		79,403,820 30
1. Twenty-five per cent. advance on the original cost of the Bank Stock belonging to the United States .	222,000	
2. Cash in treasury or in hands of Collectors on 1st January 1800, deducting a balance due to foreign officers, and outstanding registered debt .	2,593,931 30	
3. Remittances made to Holland beyond the sum necessary to meet all demands there to the close of 1799 . .	548,955 84	
4. Uncollected Custom House bonds, estimated, after making the proper deductions	5,826,214	
		9,191,101 14
Leaving for "true amount of debt on 1st Jan. 1800," according to committee . .		70,212,719 16

It is evident, from a view of those statements, that supposing every deduction to have been proper, yet it is incorrect to call the result a "true amount of debt," and to say "that the debt has in fact been diminished." Those expressions may, to a superficial observer, convey the fallacious idea that a portion of the public debt has in fact been paid. Supposing the statements and deductions to be perfectly correct, the conclusion is only that the debt has in fact increased, but that, on the other hand, government has acquired funds applicable and more than sufficient to face that increase. Whether those statements are altogether correct, and

whether the funds deducted are properly applicable to face the debt, remains to be examined.

The object of this enquiry being to aſcertain the reſult of the fiſcal operations of government under the preſent conſtitution, it appears moſt proper to compare the amount of the debt on the 1st of Jan. 1800 with that of the 1st of Jan. 1790, rather than with that of the 1st of Jan. 1791. The ſtatement of the debt on this laſt day muſt be intended, to ſhow either its true amount on that preciſe day, or the amount of what may be conſidered as the whole of the debt contracted by the late government, as the ſame has been funded by the preſent government. It is evident that the firſt view of the ſubject would not anſwer the object of the enquiry, and that there is no reaſon to ſelect the commencement of 1791 in preference to the commencement of 1792 or 1793, and to reject one year in preference to two or three. But ſhould that be the object, the ſtatement is erroneous, in as much as it includes, as part of the debt of the 1st of Jan. 1791, a ſum of 1,467,779 dollars and 72 cents, conſiſting of the intereſt which accrued *after* the 1st of Jan. 1791, on the aſſumed debt and balances funded in favor of the creditor ſtates, but which was funded inſtead of being paid. The other view of the ſubject appears ſtill more incorrect; it preſuppoſes what is controverted, that the whole of the debt funded by the preſent, was contracted by the former government; it contemplates a ſum of four millions of dollars, conſiſting of intereſt which accrued on the old debt after the year 1789, as a part of the debt contracted before the 4th day of March 1789; and it excludes every conſideration of the propriety or impropriety of the funding ſyſtem. But even in that view, the ſtatement is erroneous; for it includes, as part of the debt funded by the preſent government, the intereſt which accrued on the foreign debt from March 1789 to Jan. 1791, amounting to 722,000 dollars, and which was paid and not funded. Another conſideration of ſtill greater importance will apply to that ſtatement.

In that view of the ſubject, the whole amount of intereſt which accrued, on the old debt, after the eſtabliſhment of the preſent government is included as part of the old debt; every conſideration of the propriety of the funding ſyſtem is excluded; the whole debt as funded is conſidered as the debt of the former government; it is no longer a view of the whole of the financial operations of the preſent government; it is no longer a comparative view of the preſent debt, and of the debt as it really did exiſt when the preſent government was eſtabliſhed; it is only a view of the financial operations of government ſince the eſtabliſhment of the funding ſyſtem; it is only a comparative view of the preſent ſtate of the debt, and of its true amount and value as it ſtood *after it had been funded*. And, in that view of the ſubject, the deferred ſtock ought to be eſtimated, not at its nominal, but at its real value, both on the 1st Jan. 1800, and immediately after it had been funded. It is evident that the increaſe of value of that ſtock, from the time when it was iſſued to the preſent day, is, in that view of the ſubject, a real increaſe of debt. That ſtock was worth four or five millions of dollars leſs, immediately after it had been iſſued, than it is now, and might have been redeemed ſo much cheaper then than now. It would now coſt government four or five millions

of dollars more to pay that debt than it would at that time.

One hundred dollars will, at ſimple intereſt, at the rate of ſix per cent. a year, produce one hundred and fifty-four dollars in nine year. One hundred and fifty-four dollars payable nine years hence without intereſt, are worth only one hundred dollars at preſent. One hundred and fifty-four dollars, payable on the firſt Jan. 1800, without intereſt, were, on the firſt Jan. 1791, worth only one hundred dollars. The deferred ſtock was, after the funding ſyſtem had been adopted, a debt on which the intereſt was ſuſpended for ten years, a debt payable only ten years afterwards. Computing only at ſimple intereſt, the 13,682,944 dollars and 17 cents deferred ſtock were worth, on the firſt Jan. 1791. no more than 8,551,840 dollars and 10 cents; and on the firſt Jan. 1800, they were worth 12,870,702 dollars and five cents. Computing only at ſimple intereſt, the debt has, in this ſingle item, increaſed, ſince the funding ſyſtem, by a ſum of 4,381,861 dollars and 95 cents. In whatever view the ſubject may be conſidered, it is not leſs true, that government have enjoyed for nine years the benefit ariſing from the ſuſpenſion of intereſt on the deferred ſtock, and that after the preſent year a further ſum of 820,000 dollars will be added to the preſent annual charges on the public debt, in order to pay that intereſt. If we compute from after the eſtabliſhment of the funding ſyſtem, we may indeed, from the amount of increaſe of debt exclude the intereſt which accrued on the old debt, between the eſtabliſhment of the preſent government and the time at which we began to pay the intereſt on the debt; but we muſt include the increaſed value of the deferred ſtock ſince the eſtabliſhment of the funding ſyſtem. If we compute from the firſt Jan. 1790, to wit, from ten months after the eſtabliſhment of the preſent government, we ſhall exclude from the amount of old debt the intereſt which accrued on it, ſubſequent to that day, but we ſhall conſider the deferred ſtock as part of the old debt, at its nominal value, and without any deduction on account of the ſuſpenſion of intereſt, ſince that ſuſpenſion was produced by the funding ſyſtem, and did not exiſt on the firſt Jan. 1790.

The following conſiderations will, therefore, apply only to the ſtatements of debt and deductions made by the Committee, for the firſt days of January 1790 and 1800; and they will embrace three objects. I. Sundry obſervations on the details of thoſe ſtatements. II. An examination of the queſtion, whether the whole of the aſſumed debt ought to be conſidered as part of the debt contracted by the former government? III. An enquiry into the propriety of deducting from the amount of debt, on any given day, the uncollected Cuſtom Houſe bonds due by merchants, for duties on goods imported?

I. The details of the ſtatements ſhould, it ſeems, be corrected in the following items:

1. In the amount of the foreign debt on the firſt January, 1790, as ſtated by the Secretary of the Treaſury, the principal of the French debt, including arrearages of intereſt to that day, is computed at dollars 7,896,517.12. But by other official ſtatements, and by the ſtatement No. 6, annexed to the report of the Committee, it appears that that debt amounted only to dollars 7,895,300.39, making a difference of dollars 1,216.73 to be deducted from the amount of debt on the firſt Jan. 1790.

2. In the ſame amount of fo-

reign debt on *that* day, are included 263,000 dollars, premiums, payable at different periods, on a loan obtained in Holland at the rate of four per cent. a year, by the former government. Supposing that those premiums should be considered as part of the principal of the debt, their value as they did not bear any interest, and were payable at distant periods should be estimated on the first Jan. 1790, on the principle of an irregular short annuity, by discounting the interest on each of them, according to the date of its becoming due. On that principle, they were on that day worth about 172,000 dollars, and, therefore, 91,000 dollars less than their nominal amount. But those premiums, on a full investigation of the subject, appear to have been no part of the principal of the debt; they were an additional interest. The late government, could not, in 1784, have obtained a loan at 4 per cent; the four per cent. interest on that loan was merely nominal, and the premiums made up the real rate of interest at which the loan was obtained. The former government received only 800,000 dollars, and they agreed to pay both the nominal interest and the premiums for the use of that money. The 263,000 dollars must therefore be deducted from the amount of debt on the first Jan. 1790; and, on the same principle, the premiums still due, on that loan on the first Jan. 1800, and amounting to 59,000 dollars, should be deducted from the amount of debt on this last day.

3. It is stated by the Secretary of the Treasury, in the statement of foreign receipts and expenditures No. 5, that a sum of dollars 20,373.33 in six per cent stock, part of dollars 660,373.33 in said stock purchased from the Bank by government, and remitted to Holland, remained unsold, and had been returned to the treasury, and passed to the credit of the sinking fund. That sum, however, is not included in the deductions made by the Secretary from the nominal amount of domestic debt on 1st January 1800, on account of purchases and transfers to the sinking fund. It is an omission which should be rectified, by deducting that sum from the nominal amount of debt on first January, 1800.

4. The amount of interest which accrued on the domestic debt, during the year 1790, is stated at 1,688,962 01. But by a subsequent official statement, an error in that item is rectified, and the true amount of that interest is stated at dollars 1,671,291.55. The difference amounting to dollars 17,670.46, makes part of the interest accrued on that debt before 1790, and should be added to the amount of debt on the first January 1790.

5. In the amount of arrears of interest on the domestic debt, accrued before 1790, are included dollars 22,438.58, being two years interest on the debt due to foreign officers. The amount of arrears of interest on that day to the first January, 1790, were only dollars 10,822.05. The difference amounting to dollars 11,616.53, should be deducted from the nominal amount of debt on first January, 1790. That the arrears of interest prior to the year 1790 amounted only to dollars 10,822.05 is deducted from the treasury statements in the following manner.

The outstanding registered debt, and debt due to foreign officers, is stated, on the first Jan. 1800, at	100,184 18
The purchases of registered debt & loan office certifi-	

cates amounted to dolls. 97,124.47	
Which deducted from the amount credited to sinking fund 169,306 78 cents	
Leaves for the outstanding registered debt	72,182 31
Making for the outstanding debt due to foreign officers on 1st Jan. 1800	28,001 87
Adding to this, the whole amount of debt paid to foreign officers, including both principal and interest	203,466 28
Gives for the whole amount of debt due to foreign officers, including interest to the 1st Jan. 1793, the day which it was paid,	231,468 15
The principal of that debt was, 186,988 23	
And three years interest on the same, for the years '90, '91 and '92, 33,657.87	
Making for the principal and interest subsequent to first Jan. 1790	220,646 1
Which leaves for the interest prior to 1790	10,822 05

6. In the sum of dollars 515,460.94, included in the amount of debt due on first Jan, 1790, as being "debts contracted by the former government and since discharged in specie," are included two items which should be deducted, *viz.* the interest which accrued respectively on those debts after the first Jan. 1790 to the day when they were discharged, but which being neither considerable, nor ascertained in the official statements, shall be neglected; and the grants of Congress to the heirs of General Greene, amounting to 71,454 dollars and 36 cents, which were altogether a gratuity and not the payment of a debt due by the late government. In order to enable the contractors for supplying the southern army to obtain the necessary supplies, Gen. Greene had been induced to become personally their security to certain merchants of South Carolina. The monies due for those supplies were paid in full by Congress to those contractors; but these did not apply that money to the discharge of the debt due by them to the merchants, and after a number of years, Gen. Green's estate was found to be liable for its payment. This sum was therefore a debt of Gen. Green for supplies which had actually been paid by the United States, and not a debt of the United States, and should also be deducted from the amount of debt of the 1st Jan. 1790.

7. A sum of 10,085 dollars and 51 cents was advanced in 1792 to pay some arrearages due to the late Maryland line; and dollars 5,394.57, part of the same sum were repaid in the treasury in 1799. If the original sum is included in the amount of dollars 515,460.94 stated as the amount of old debts discharged in specie, the repayment of dollars 5,394.57 should be deducted from that amount, and from the amount of debt on 1st Jan. 1790. If the original sum is not included in that amount, the

difference between it and the ſum repaid, which conſtitutes the ſum actually expended, and amounts to dolls. 4,680.94, ſhould be added to the nominal amount of debt on 1ſt of Jan. 1790. A correction ſeems neceſſary in either caſe; but there being ſome uncertainty to what account that expenditure was charged no alteration ſhall be made on that account.

8. To the deductions made by the committee from the nominal amount of debt on the firſt of Jan. 1790, ſhould be added on the ſame principle——firſt, the ſum of dollars, 132,475 31 ſtated by the treaſury department to have been in the hands of the Bankers of the United States in Holland on that day, and which is accordingly deducted by that department, from the amount of debt on 1ſt Jan. 1791, but is, through miſtake, omitted in the ſtatement of 1ſt Jan. 1790—2d a ſum of dolls. 107,605.07, ſtated by another official ſtatement of the receipts and expenditures of the war department, to have been remaining in the hands of the late Paymaster General, at the commencement of the preſent government—3d a ſum of dolls. 24,091.31 in ſix per cent, three per cent and deferred ſtock, ſtated by the treaſury department, in Statement No. I. to have been received in payment of certain balances which originated prior to the preſent conſtitution.

9. The two following ſums part of the deductions made by the Committee from the amount of debt due on 1ſt Jan. 1790, *viz.* doll. 15,927. 13. amount of debts due by the United States, diſcharged before the year 1790, and doll. 151,392. 41 proceeds of lands ſold to Pennſylvania by the former government and paid by that ſtate in evidences of the public debt, ſhould be deducted at once from the nominal amount of debt on the 1ſt Jan. 1790, as they were not merely funds acquired by government, but debts actually paid. The outſtanding regiſtered debt and debt due to foreign officers, amounting to dollars 100,184. 18 and deducted by the Committee from the balance in ſpecie in the treaſury on the 1ſt Jan. 1800, ſhould be added to the nominal amount of debt on that day, as it was a debt not yet paid. And, on the ſame principle, on which the Bank ſtock owned by the United States has been deducted at its prime coſt from the nominal amount of debt on 1ſt Jan. 1800, it may be deducted from that amount, the ſame rate at which it was valued by the committee, *viz*, at 25 per cent. advance. Theſe laſt alterations will not cauſe any change in the final reſult, but only in the nominal amount of debt on the firſt days of Jan. 1790 and 1800, reſpectively.

II. The ſeveral ſtates had, during the revolutonary war, made ſundry advances for the ſupport of that war, but thoſe advances were not made in the ſame proportion nor in the ſame manner. Some ſtates were more indebted to individuals than others, on account, either of the ſituation in which they had been placed during the war, of the greatneſs of their exextions during the war, or of their remiſsneſs in raiſing taxes after the war. And thoſe ſtates who had advanced leſs than their proportion for the ſnport of the war, were indebted, for the difference, to thoſe who had advanced more than their proportion. The accounts had not yet been finally ſettled when the preſent government was eſtabliſhed, & the oſtenſible objects of the aſsumption ſeem to have been, to relieve the ſtates, who were moſt oppreſsed by individual debts, and to equalize the accounts between the ſeveral ſtates. The firſt was an

object of policy, the laſt an object of juſtice; for the only practicable mode under the preſent conſtitution, in which debtor ſtates could be made to pay what they fairly owed to the creditor ſtates, was that the Union ſhould pay to the creditor ſtates ſuch ſums, and in ſuch proportions, as ſhould, as far as poſsible, equalize the accounts. And those payments might be made either to the States themſelves, or to the creditors of thoſe ſtates. It is evident that, in order to carry that mode into effect with correctneſs and regard to juſtice, it was previouſly neceſsary to ſettle the accounts of the individual States, and to aſcertain which of them were creditor and to what amount. But, inſtead of waiting until that reſult was known, ſtate debts were aſſumed at random by the Union, and without a poſſibility of knowing whether ſome of the ſtates, in whoſe favor that aſſumption was made, were not, on the contrary, indebted to the Union. The event correſponded with what might have been expected from that looſe mode of legiſlating.

Conſidering the aſſumption of ſtate debts as intended ſolely for the purpoſe of doing equal juſtice to the ſeveral ſtates, by equalizing their accounts; it may be demonſtrated, that, had Congreſs waited until the ſettlement of accounts had taken place, before any ſtate debts were aſſumed, they might have produced the ſame effect by an aſſumption, in favor of the creditor ſtates, to the amount dol. 11,609,259.69, which has been produced by the premature aſſumption of doll. 21,789,371.47 which have been actually aſſumed or funded in favor of the ſeveral States, that is to ſay, that the accounts of the Union with the individual ſtates might have been placed in the ſame relative ſituation in which they now ſtand, by aſſuming doll. 10,180,111.78 leſs than have been aſſumed. Thoſe who conceive the principle of aſſumption, ſo far as it reſted on a wiſh to releive the individual ſtates from the burthen of their debts, to have been confounded; thoſe who conceive that it was unneceſſary for the Union to aſſume more debts than was ſtrictly requiſite to equalize the accounts of the ſeveral ſtates; thoſe who think that it was impolitic to ſwell the debt of the United States, and that it would have been more eaſy for the individual ſtates than for the Union to diſcharge that ſurplus, will be of opinion that the unneceſſary debt, created by the raſh aſſumption of ſtate debts before a final ſettlement of accounts, and which cannot be conſidered as a debt of the United States contracted by the former government, amounts to more than ten millions of dollars; and that this ſum ought to be deducted from the nominal amount of debt ſtated to have been due by the United States on firſt Jan. 1790.

But even the warmeſt ſupporters of the aſſumption of ſtate debts, on its moſt enlarged ſcale, even thoſe who think that, both on the ſcore of juſtice, and in order to relieve them from a heavy burthen, it was wiſe and politic to have aſſumed the whole of the ſum which was actually aſſumed in favor of the creditor ſtates; even they, muſt acknowledge that an aſſumption, made at random before the accounts were ſettled, rendered it unavoidble to aſſume debts in favor of ſtates who were in fact already indebted to the Union, and that the conſequence has been ſuch, as might have been foreſeen. Thus near 1,200,000 dollars were aſſumed for the ſtate of New-York, which, when the accounts were finally ſettled, was found to be indebted to the Union to the amount of more than two millions. It is

ſelf-evident that the debts, thus aſſumed for debtor states, were not due by the United States; that they are not a part of the old debt, that they are a debt unneceſſarily conſtituted and created by the preſent government. On the moſt ſuperficial view of the ſubject, it appears that dollars 2,069,565.71 have thus been aſſumed for debtor states, to the manifeſt injury of the other states, and conſtitute an additional debt, which ſhould be deducted from the amount improperly ſtated as the debt contracted by the former government. What part of that ſum conſiſted of intereſt, accrued after the year 1789 does not appear, and muſt be eſtimated. Conſidering the ſtates in whoſe favor that unneceſſary aſſumption took place, it is not believed, that that intereſt amounted to one hundred thouſand dollars. And the amount of aſſumed debt created by the preſent government, and to be, at all events, and in the moſt favorable view of the ſubject, deducted from the nominal amount of debt of the firſt Jan. 1790, of which it makes no part, may be fairly eſtimated at two millions of dollars.

III. The Committee have deducted from the amount of debt due on the firſt Jan. 1790, the ſum of doll. 590,468.60, and from the amount of debt due on the 1st Jan. 1800, the ſum of 5,826,214 dollars, being the eſtimated amount of uncollected Cuſtom Houſe bonds not yet due, but which may hereafter be received in the treaſury; and they conſider thoſe bonds as "funds acquired by government and which may be applied to face the debt." The conſtitution has given to government the command over almoſt all the reſources of the United States, and thoſe reſources may in a general point of view be conſidered as funds acquired to government by the adoption of the conſtitution. In what then do thoſe Cuſtom Houſe bonds differ from the other general and uncollected reſources of the country? Not on account of the perſons who owe them. Were duties on imported goods, for the ſecurity of which thoſe bonds are given, untimately paid by the merchants who are anſwerable for thoſe bonds, then indeed the people of the United States, who owe the public debt, might take credit for the amount of thoſe bonded duties payable by a few individuals. But thoſe duties are paid by the conſumers, by the people themſelves. The merchants are only the collectors of the duties, for which they become anſwerable on the goods being imported; and the expence of collection coſts to the conſumers from 20 to 60 per cent. which the importers and other merchants receive, as a compenſation for the trouble and riſk of collection. The bonds are in fact a debt due by the people of the United States themſelves, and which cannot be deducted from, or claimed as a credit by them againſt the maſs of their public debt. The people of the United States owe the whole amount of the public debt whatever it may be, and the amount of uncollected duties. Give them credit for the amount of bonds given by merchants for the ſecuring of thoſe duties, and they remain ſtill charged with the whole amount of the public debt *without any deduction*. Thoſe bonds differ from the other reſources of the Union, which government may alſo command, only in one particular, in that their amount and time of payment are aſcertained. And in that particular they in no way differ from every other tax of the enſuing year. Thoſe bonds are nothing more than a tax aſſeſſed, but not yet collected,

and they differ in nothing from the land tax, the amount of which was preciſely aſcertained, and which had been aſſeſſed in many of the ſtates on the 1ſt Jan. 1800, but was not yet collected. A farmer, whoſe tax was aſſeſſed, was as much indebted to government for the amount of his tax, as the merchant for his bond. Yet the Committee have taken no credit for the land tax which as well as thoſe bonds, was to be collected in the courſe of the year 1800. They have not even taken credit for the uncollected duties on ſpirits diſtilled and ſtills, although a great part of theſe were actually due. The Committee were aware, that a tax not yet collected cannot be conſidered as a ſet off againſt an exiſting debt, that the probable amount of ſuch a tax is never taken in account except as making part of the probable receipts of the enſuing year and as applicable to the expences of that year. And it appears incredible that they ſhould not have perceived that thoſe bonded duties were preciſely in the ſame ſituation with all other taxes to be collected the enſuing year, that they were like other taxes payable by the body of the people, and that they conſtituted in fact two thirds of the probable receipts of the enſuing year, and were applicable ſolely to the expenſes of that year.

The Committee ſay that thoſe bonds are "funds which may be applied to *face* the debt." The Committee well knew that they could not be applied to *pay* the debt. No part of them can be applied to pay any part of the principal of the exiſting debt, unleſs there ſhould be a ſurplus in the receipts of the preſent year over the current expenditure. And ſo far was this from being the expectation of Congreſs that they authoriſed a loan of three millions and a half of dollars, in order to cover the exceſs of expenditures over the receipts of this year.

The Committee ſay "that a conſiderable part of thoſe bonds are pledged for the payment of the loans obtained from the Bank, and that thoſe loans muſt in fact be diſcharged from the proceeds of that pledge." The fact is, that thoſe loans are ſtated by an official ſtatement of the treaſury department, to have (with the exception of one of 200,000 dollars) been obtained in 1795, to be ſtill due, but continued on loan with the conſent of the Bank. The pledge given was the ſurplus of revenue of 1795 and 1796, which has long ſince been conſumed, and the ſurplus of the nominal revenue of 1799, which conſiſts of thoſe bonds, is not probably pledged for thoſe loans. But the Committee knew that thoſe loans could not and would not *in fact* be diſcharged from the proceeds of thoſe bonds. For, ſuppoſing that a *nominal* payment was to be made to the Bank out of the proceeds of thoſe bonds, that is to ſay, out of the receipts of the preſent year, there would then be an additional deficiency to the ſame amount in the receipts of this year; and the ſame amount would immediately be borrowed again from the Bank, in order to cover that deficiency.

The ſame thing would happen in caſe government were to ſell thoſe bonds on a diſcount. This they might do, juſt as they might ſell the land tax for the enſuing year, or forever as has been done in Great Britain. A nation may mortgage its future reſources, or in other words the probable future receipts of its treaſury; but in whatever manner this is done, it is always borrowing money in ſome ſhape or other. Should government ſell thoſe bonds, the amount muſt ſtill be applied to

defray the expences of the preſent year, or in caſe it was applied to the payment of a part of the public debt, a new loan to the ſame amount muſt immediately be obtained for the purpoſe of diſcharging the current expenditure.

If the amount of thoſe bonds is actually payable by the people themſelves, and altogether inapplicable to the payment of any part of the debt, it cannot be deducted from the nominal amount of debt, the only real difference which exiſts in the relative ſituation of our finances between 1790 and 1800, being that government has now been organized a ſufficient length of time to have ſecured the payment of a conſiderable permanent revenue for 1800, and the enſuing years. Should they hereafter diminiſh conſiderably the expenditure, without diminiſhing that revenue, the ſurplus would *then* be applicable to the payment of the debt. But we muſt wait until that ſhall have been done, before any part of the future probable receipts of the treaſury ſhall be allowed as a credit againſt the exiſting debt.

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From thoſe conſiderations it appears that the public debt may, according to the two different views of which the ſubject is ſuſceptible, be correctly ſtated as followeth:

1. Nominal amount of debt.

On 1ſt January 1790.

Amount ſtated by the Secretary of the Treaſury		72,237,301 97
Add; difference for the intereſt on domeſtic debt before 1790		17,670 46
		72,254,972 43
Deduct.		
1. Difference on the French debt	1,216 73	
2. Premiums on Dutch debt	263,000	
3. Difference on intereſt on the debt due to foreign officers	11,616 53	
4. Grant to General Greene's eſtate	71,453 36	
5. Debts diſcharged before 1790	15,927 13	
6. Proceeds of lands ſold to Pennſylvania	151,392 41	
7. Debt aſſumed for debtor ſtates beyond their proportion	2,000,000	
		2,514,606 16
Amount of debt on 1st Jan. 1790,		69,740,366 27

On 1st January, 1800.

Amount ſtated by the Secretary of the Treaſury		79,403,820 30
Add—Outſtanding regiſtered debt, and due to foreign officers		100,184 18
		79,504,004 48
Deduct.		
1. Six per cent ſtock returned from Holland	20,373 33	
2. Premiums on Dutch debt	59,000	
3. Advance on Bank ſtock beyond its coſt	222,000	
		301,373 33

Amount of debt on 1st Jan. 1800	79,202,631 15
on 1st Jan. 1790	69,740,366 27
Nominal increaſe of debt from 1790 to 1800	9 462,264 88

The different items of which the debt conſiſted on thoſe two days reſpectively, are exhibited in the Statement No. I. annexed at the end.

II. Comparative view formed by deducting from the nominal amount of debt, the funds actually acquired by government.

On 1st January 1790.

Nominal amount of debt as per above			69,740,366 27
Deduct.			
1. Debts due under former government to United States, and received in ſpecie		62,586 74	
2. Debts due under former government to United States, and received in ſtock		24,091 31	
3. Caſh in Holland	132,475 31		
in treaſury	28,239 61		
in collector's hands	83,127 84		
in paymaſter's do.	107,605 07		
		351,447 83	
			438,125 88
			69,302,240 39

On 1st January, 1800.

Nominal amount of debt as per above			79,202,631 15
Deduct			
1. Caſh in Treaſury	2,161,867 67		
In Collectors hands	532,247 81		
		2,694,115 48	
2. Remittances ſaid to have been made in Holland beyond the payments due in 1799		548,955 84	
			3,243,071 32
Amount for 1st Jan. 1800			75,959,559 83
1st Jan. 1790			69,302,240 39
Leaves for *increaſe of debt*, for thoſe ten years, after deducting all the funds actually acquired by government, and which may poſſibly be applied towards a reduction of the debt,			6,657,319 44

And here it may be proper to obſerve, that the amount of Cuſtom-houſe bonds, credited by the Committee, and excluded from the above ſtatement, is, for the 1st day of Jan. 1800, dolls. 5,826,214; and, for the 1st Jan. 1790, dolls. 590,468.60. The difference between thoſe two ſums is dolls.

5,235,745.40, which deducted from the ſum of dolls. 6,657,319.44, would ſtill leave, even on the inadmiſſible ſuppoſition that thoſe bonds ought to be deducted, an increaſe of debt, during thoſe ten years, of doll. 1,421,574.04.

[CONTINUED IN PAGE 257.]

Alexander Hamilton *versus* John Adams.

" *When* ——— *fall out, honeſt men come by their own.*"

OLD PROVERBS.

LETTER FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO JOHN ADAMS.

" New-York, Aug. 1, 1800.

" Sir,

" It has been repeatedly mentioned to me, that you have, on different occaſions aſſerted the exiſtence of a Britiſh faction in this country, embracing a number of leading or influential characters of the federal party, (as uſually denominated) and that you have ſometimes named me; at others plainly alluded to me as one of this deſcription of perſons; and I have likewiſe been aſſured that ſome of your warm adherents, for electioneering purpoſes, have employed a correſponding language. I muſt, ſir, take it for granted, that you cannot have made ſuch aſſertions or inſinuations, without being willing to avow them; and to aſſign the reaſon to a party who may conceive himſelf injured by them. I therefore truſt, that you will not deem it improper, that I apply directly to yourſelf, to aſcertain from you, in reference to your own declarations, whether the information I have received has been correct or not; and if correct, what are the grounds upon which you have founded the ſuggeſtions?"

With reſpect,

I have the honor to be, ſir,

Your obedient ſervant,

(Signed)

ALEX. HAMILTON.

To JOHN ADAMS, ESQ.

Preſident of the United States.

SECOND LETTER.

" *New-York, October* 1, 1800.

" SIR,

" The time which has elapſed ſince my letter of the 1ſt of Auguſt was delivered to you, precludes the further expectation of an anſwer.

" From this ſilence I will draw no inference; nor will I preſume to judge of the fitneſs of ſilence upon ſuch an occaſion, on the part of the chief magiſtrate of a republic towards a citizen, who without a ſtain has diſcharged ſo many important public truſts.

" But this much I will affirm, that by whomſoever a charge of the kind mentioned in my former letter, may at any time have been made or inſinuated againſt me, it is a baſe, wicked, and cruel calumny; deſtitute even of a plauſible pretext to excuſe the folly, or maſk the depravity which muſt have dictated it.

" With due reſpect,

" I have the honor to be,

" Sir,

" Your obedient ſervant,

Signed)

" ALEX. HAMILTON.

To JOTN ADAMS, Eſq.

Preſident ſ the United States.

LETTER OF MR. ADAMS To MR. COXE.

(A COPY.)

Quincy, May , 1792.

DEAR SIR,

THE firſt thing I have to communicate to you muſt be an explanation of the date of my letter. The legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts laſt winter, upon a petition of the North Pariſh in Braintree, ſeparated it from the reſt of the town, erected it into a new one, and gave it the name of Quincy. By this meaſure you ſee they have deprived me of my title of "*Duke of Braintree,*" and made it neceſſary that my friends ſhould write me in future, as an inhabitant of Quincy. So much for this *Brimborion.*

Something that intereſts me much more is your obliging letter of the 12th of this month.

I ſhould have been happy to have ſeen Mr. Pinckney, before his departure; but more from individual curioſity, than from any opinion that I could have given him any information of importance to him.—If he has the talent of ſearching hearts, he will not be long at a loſs, if he has not, no information of mine can give it him.

The duke of Leeds, once enquired of me very kindly, after his claſsmates at Weſtminster-ſchool, the two Mr. Pinckneys, which induces me to conclude, that our new Ambaſſador has many powerful old friends in England. Whether this is a recommendation of him for the office or not, I have other reaſons to believe that his family have had their eyes fixed upon the embaſſy to St. James's, for many years, even before I was ſent there, and that they contributed to limit the duration of my commiſſion to three years, in order to make way for themſelves to ſucceed me. I wiſh they may find as much honor and pleaſure in it, as they expected, and that the public may derive from it, dignity and utility. But knowing as I do, the long intrigue, and ſuſpecting as I do, much Britiſh influence in the appointment, were I in any executive department, I ſhould take the liberty to keep a vigilant eye upon them.

Accept of my thanks, for your reflections on the ſtate of the union, which I have read with all the pleaſure which the intelligence, information, accuracy, and elegance of the remarks on lord Sheffield inſpired.

There is one ſecret, which you muſt be careful to keep, manufactures muſt have good government. They cannot exiſt when they are without it, much leſs can they be introduced where they are not. But a great part of the people of America, appear to be ſo determined to have no government at all; that if you let them know the whole truth, you will excite an unmanageable party againſt manufactures. Manu-

factures cannot live, much leſs thrive, without honor, fidelity, punctuality, public and private faith, a ſacred reſpect to property, and the moral obligation of promiſes and contracts, virtues and habits which never did, and never will generally prevail in any populous nation, without a deciſive, as well as an intelligent and honeſt government. The ſcience of political œconomy is but a late ſtudy, and is not yet generally underſtood among us. Though I have read moſt of the authors of reputation on the ſubject, both among the French and Engliſh, I pretend not to have digeſted any thing relative to it, with the preciſion of a maſter. But to me it appears, that the general intereſt of agriculture in particular, as well as of the nation in general, will be promoted by a diſcreet and judicious encouragement, of manufactures, and that it is only the land-jobber, who can be benefited in the rapid riſe of his monopoly, by drawing every labouring hand into the wilderneſs to fell trees.

The continual acceſſion of foreigners will endanger and deſtroy our peace, if we know not how to govern them. They will moreover corrupt our elections, and tear us to pieces. Sufficient to the day, however, is its own evil, and in that day and hour it always has been, and I doubt not, always will be given us to provide againſt its dangers.

Remember me affectionately to all friends, and believe me to be,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed)

JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. COXE.

—

Lancaſter, in Pennſylvania, ſs.

On the 9th day of October, 1800, perſonally appeared before me, Jacob Carpenter, eſquire, one of the juſtices of the peace for the county aforeſaid, the underſigned Frederick Auguſtus Muhlenberg, formerly ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives of the United States; and, being firſt duly ſworn, doth declare and ſay, that Tench Coxe exhibited to him, after the publication of Thomas Pinckney, the preceding original letter of Mr. Adams, formerly Vice Preſident of the United States, and now Preſident thereof; that he never before ſaw that letter; that the hand-writing of Mr. Adams is well known to this deponent; that the whole of the ſaid letter, including the ſignature and addreſs, are in the hand-writing of Mr. Adams aforeſaid.

FRED. A. MUHLENBERG.

Sworn and ſubſcribed before

JACOB CARPENTER.

—

Lancaſter in Pennſylvania, ſſ.

On the 8th day of October, 1800, before me, Jacob Carpenter, eſquire, one of the juſtices of the peace for the county aforeſaid, perſonally came the underſigned Tench Coxe, formerly commiſſioner of the revenue in the department of the Treaſury of the United States, and, at this time, ſecretary of the land-office of Pennſylvania: who being firſt duly ſworn, did declare and ſay, that the original letter, to which this affidavit is annexed, was by him received in the year 1792; that it is altogether in the writing of John Adams, eſquire, at the date thereof vice-preſident of the United States; that he furniſhed a copy thereof to the attorneys and counſellors of Mr. William Duane, (upon their perſonal and written applications, and a notice that he would be cited) for their uſe, in a trial between the United States, and the ſaid Mr. Duane; that on the diſcontinuance of that trial, he endeavored, by application, to recover the loaned copy;

but was informed that copies had been made, and paſſed into other hands by the defendant; that he has been informed that a copy inſerted in the Aurora, was taken from the copy loaned, or from one of the tranſcripts thereof; that he had no knowledge of the perſon who had taken, or received thoſe tranſcripts, or copies, till he ſaw the diſpoſition of them in the Aurora: and particularly, that he never communicated the contents of the ſaid letter to general Charles Coteſworth Pinckney, or to Thomas Pinckney, eſq. or to any perſon that was or could be ſuppoſed to be meant or intended in the aforeſaid letter.

TENCH COXE.

Sworn before me,
JACOB CARPENTER.

—

Lancaſter county, ſſ.

On the 10th day of October, in the year of our lord one thouſand eight hundred, before me Jacob Carpenter, a juſtice of the peace for the county aforeſaid, perſonally appeared William Barton, prothonotory of the ſaid county; who being duly ſworn, did depoſe and ſay, that he has ſeveral times ſeen the ſignature of John Adams, preſident of the United States; that he is ſatisfied, that the name "John Adams," ſubſcribed to a letter, dated "Quincy, May , 1792," and addreſſed to "Mr. Coxe," (which letter is hereunto annexed*) is the hand-writing of the ſaid preſident of the United States; that the body of the letter appears to be written by the ſame hand; and, that the condition of the paper and appearence of the ink, independently of any other circumſtance, would induce this deponent to believe, that the ſaid letter has been written ſeveral years. Farther he (this deponent) ſaith not.

W. BARTON.

Sworn, the day and year firſt above menti. oned, before me. JACOB CARPENTER.

LETTER *from* JOHN ADAMS TO THOMAS PINCKNEY.

Philadelphia, Oct. 27, 1800.

DEAR SIR,

It was only on yeſterday, that I received the letter you did me the honor to write me, on the 16th of September. For the friendly and reſpectful ſtyle in which it is written, I pray you to accept of my hearty thanks, and you ſhall receive in my anſwer all the ſatisfaction in my power to give you.

Of the letter which is publiſhed in my name, I have no copy or any particular recollection. In general, I remember, that when Mr. Cox was aſſiſtant to the Secretary of the Treaſury, he was very aſſiduous in his attentions to me—made me many viſits at my houſe, and many invitations to his own, when I was at the ſeat of government, and wrote me many letters when I was abſent from it. I have alſo an indiſtinct idea of his writing me a letter before your embarkation for Europe, expreſſing a great anxiety, that an interview ſhould take place, between you and me, before you ſhould depart, and an opinion, that it would be in my power to communicate to you ſome uſeful information and advice, relative to the ſubject of your miſſion. As I knew of nothing that could make it neceſſary for you to take a journey to Quincy, or for me to go to Philadelphia, it is probable I wrote him ſomething like the letter that is publiſhed. This however has been manifeſtly either ſo care-

factures cannot live, much leſs thrive, without honor, fidelity, punctuality, public and private faith, a ſacred reſpect to property, and the moral obligation of promiſes and contracts, virtues and habits which never did, and never will generally prevail in any populous nation, without a deciſive, as well as an intelligent and honeſt government. The ſcience of political œconomy is but a late ſtudy, and is not yet generally underſtood among us. Though I have read moſt of the authors of reputation on the ſubject, both among the French and Engliſh, I pretend not to have digeſted any thing relative to it, with the preciſion of a maſter. But to me it appears, that the general intereſt of agriculture in particular, as well as of the nation in general, will be promoted by a diſcreet and judicious encouragement, of manufactures, and that it is only the land-jobber, who can be benefited in the rapid riſe of his monopoly, by drawing every labouring hand into the wilderneſs to fell trees.

The continual acceſſion of foreigners will endanger and deſtroy our peace, if we know not how to govern them. They will moreover corrupt our elections, and tear us to pieces. Sufficient to the day, however, is its own evil, and in that day and hour it always has been, and I doubt not, always will be given us to provide againſt its dangers.

Remember me affectionately to all friends, and believe me to be,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed)

JOHN ADAMS.

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copied, or unfaithfully printed, that I muſt refer to the original letter, which, if it is in my hand-writing, will be eaſily known.

It may not be eaſy for me to give you a clear idea of the ſituation I was in, when that letter was written. In order to accompliſh this neceſſary purpoſe, as well as I can, it muſt be obſerved, that in May 1792, it was my misfortune to be wholly unacquainted with all the gentlemen who bear the name of Pinckney. I had never ſeen one of them in my life, as I can recollect, and knew not that there were more than two. When I heard of your appointment, I recollected the converſation with the Marquis of Carmarthen, now duke of Leeds, and imagined it probable, that his lordſhip might have intimated directly or indirectly to ſome one near the preſident, that one of the Mr. Pinckneys would be agreeable at court. I never had an idea of any other influence than that, which is very common in Europe, when one government cauſes intimations to be given to another, that the appointment of ſome particular gentleman would be agreeable. And I now believe, that my ſuſpicion of even that kind of influence was wholly unfounded in reality, though it had then ſome color in appearance. The other inſinuation, concerning the Pinckney family, had no other foundation than this: When I received my commiſſion to the Court of St. James's, I obſerved in it a limitation to three years. As I did not recollect any example of this before, I was at a loſs for the reaſon of it, but as I did not intend at that time to remain in Europe, even ſo long a time as three years, I thought very little of it, until afterwards on my arrival in London in 1785, I received information without inquiry, that Mr. Pinckney, a member of Congreſs from South-Carolina had ſaid that, "the limitation to three "years had been inſerted in my "commiſſion for the purpoſe of get-"ting rid of me; that the miſſion "to London was too good a "thing for me; and that the in-"tention was, as ſoon as I could be "removed, to ſend a Mr. Pinckney "of South-Carolina in my room." When I heard of a Mr. Pinckney's appointment, this London information came into my mind, and diverted me, becauſe I ſuppoſed Mr. Pinckney after eight years had carried his point, and occaſioned the ſentiment expreſſed in the letter, which, from the ſportive, playful, careleſs air of it throughout, muſt be eaſily perceived to have been confidential. It may be eaſily aſcertained, who was the Mr. Pinckney, who was a member of Congreſs in 1784 or 1785, when my commiſſion was granted, and dated, and when the limitation to three years was inſerted.

On this occaſion, it is but juſtice & duty in me to declare, that I have not at this time the ſmalleſt reaſon to believe or ſuſpect, that you or your brother ever ſolicited any appointment under government abroad or at home, that the whole conduct of both as far as it has came to my knowledge, (and I have had conſiderable opportunities to know the conduct of both ſince 1792) has ſhown minds candid, able and independent, wholly free from any kind of influence from Britain and from any improper bias in favor of that country or any other; and that both have rendered, with honor and dignity to themſelves, great and important ſervices to our country. And I will add in the ſincerity of my heart, that I know of no two gentlemen whoſe characters and conduct are more deſerving of confidence.

I cannot conclude without obſerving, that we are fallen on evil times; on evil times indeed are we fallen, if every private converſation is imme-

diately to be betrayed and misrepresented in the newspapers, and if every frivolous and confidential letter is to be dragged by the hand of treachery from its oblivion of eight years, and published by malice and revenge, for the purpose of making mischief. I am, Sir, with great truth and regard,

Your friend and humble servant,
JOHN ADAMS.

The Hon. Thomas Pinckney, esq. Charleston, South-Carolina.

As your letter has been so long on its way to me, I shall publish this answer immediately, which I hope you will excuse.

VIEWS, &c. *(Continued from page 252.)*

THE preceding view of the public debt shows only the final result of the financial operations of government. The operations themselves will appear more clearly from an examination of the resources enjoyed by administration, and of the manner in which these have been applied. Hence an investigation of the receipts and expenditures of the United States is more important than a detached view of the debt itself. And this will afford, at the same time, means of ascertaining the correctness, not of the principles, but of the details of the preceeding statements.

There are two modes of ascertaining the progress or diminution of the public debt during any given period. The first, which has been pursued by the Committee, and in the preceding pages, consists in comparing the amount of debt at the commencement & end of the period respectively. The second, which may be deduced from a view of the receipts and expenditures, consists in comparing the amount of debt respectively incurred and extinguished during the same period. And if the same principles are pursued in both modes, the result must be the same in both, provided no mistake has been made in the details.

The statements transmitted by the treasury department to the Committee, in relation to that object, exhibit the receipts in the treasury & the expenditures by the treasury distinctly from those in Holland: but as the receipts in the treasury consist in part of monies drawn from Holland and the receipts in Holland in part of monies remitted from America, the aggregate amount of receipts and expenditures in America and Holland, does not shew the true amount of the receipts and expenditures of the United States. The following alterations in those statements are necessary in order to exhibit a correct amount of those receipts and expenditures.

From both receipts and expenditures must be deducted.

1. From the amount of receipts in Holland and expenditures in America, monies remitted from America to Holland 5,621,660 10
2. From the amount of receipts in America and of expenditures in Holland, monies drawn from Holland to America, ... 2,808,941 02

3. From do. monies repaid to the purchaſers of ſix per cent ſtock in Hollond, being part of intereſt received on the ſame in America	14,226	54
4. From the amount of receipts and expenditures in America, the amount of bills drawn on Holland, and afterwards cancelled, the ſame being a nominal tranſaction	2,000,000	
5. From the amount of receipts and expenditures in Holland, monies remitted from America to Holland for the uſe of the war and diplomatic departments, and charged, in the amount of expenditures in America, to the proper departments	37,031	89
6. From do. monies loſt on bills of exchange and deducted from the amount gained on other bills . .	14,874	85
Total deductions	10,496,734	40

To both receipts and expenditures muſt be added.

1. Monies remaining in hands of the late Paymaſter at the commencement of the preſent government, paſſed to the account of the war department . . .	107,605	07
2. Sale of war ſtores to France, expended in paying the principal of the public debt	8,962	
3. Amount of the Navy loan, conſiſting of the coſt of ſhips of war built by private ſubſcription, and paid to the ſubſcribers in ſix per cent ſtock, paſſed to the account of of Navy expenditures	929,200	
4. Profits on bills of Exchange remitted from Holland to France and Spain, paſſed to the account of monies expended in paying the intereſt on the public debt ,	380,772	51
	1,426,539	58
Which amount added to the aggregate of receipts in Holland and America	92,416,883	43
As given by the Secretary of the Treaſury makes a ſum of	93,843,423	01
From which deducting the amount of deductions as per above	10,496,734	40
Leaves the amount of receipts as ſtated in ſtatement No. 2, here aanexed . . .	83,346,688	61

The following tranſpoſitions is alſo made in ſtatement hereunto annexed No. 3, *viz.*

The following ſums which in the ſtatement of the Secretary of the Treaſury, are claſſed under the head of expenditures for intereſt of the debt, are here ſtated, as they ultimately were, as part of the monies applied towards the payment of the principal of the debt, *to wit.*

1. A ſum of dolls. 226,608 70, being the intereſt which accrued till May, 1795 on the debt purchaſed by the Commiſſioners of the ſinking fund. That ſum was paid as intereſt by the treaſury, to the Commiſſioners, and applied by them to the purchaſe of the public debt.

2. A ſum of dolls. 5,437 93, being the difference between 39,095 dollars and 80 cents ſtated, by the treaſury ſtatement, to have been paid for intereſt on the debt due to foreign officers, and 33,657 dollars and 87 cents, the whole amount of intereſt which accrued on that debt after the year 1789.

From thoſe ſtatements of receipts and expenditures No. 2, and 3 hereunto annexed, it appears that the whole receipts of the preſent government, from its commencement have been from—

Old debts received	302,667 13	
Loans	25,775,795 56	
Sales of Bank ſtock	1,384,260	
Sales of Land	100,339 84	
Revenue	54,242,213 54	
Sundries	1,541,412 54	
		83,346,688 61

And that the expenditures for the ſame period, have been for

Payments of principal of the debt	20,654,847 30	
Subſcription to the Bank of the U. States	2,000,000	
Intereſt on the public debt	27,559,430 35	
Military eſtabliſhment, including land and navy	21,286,420 84	
Civil domeſtic eſtabliſhment, including civil liſt and miſcellaneous expences	6,324,626 95	
Intercourſe with foreign nations	2,810,539 66	
		80,635,865 10
Leaving for balance unexpended, *viz.*		
Caſh in treaſury	2,161,867 67	
Remittances to Holland	548,955 84	
		2,710,823 51
		83,346,688 61

The nominal increaſe of debt during that period may be deduced from thoſe ſtatements on the ſame principles already explained, in the manner following.

The monies applied to the payment of principal of the debt, are ſtated at		20,654,847 30
From which deducting the amount of debts diſcharged before 1790		15,927 13
Leaves for the true amount of monies applied to the reduction of the debt after 1st Jan. 1790		20,638,920 17

To which ſum the following additions muſt be made.

1. Part of that ſum, *to witt*, dolls. 1,619 281 24 were applied to *purchaſes* of the public debt; the amount purchaſed was dolls. 2,307,661 71; the exceſs of debt purchaſed beyond the monies applied to purchaſes is . . . 688,380 47

2. Exclusively of the receipts in specie into the treasury, payments have been made directly in evidences of public debt, *viz.* for lands sold, dolls. 14,005 93 ; in payment of old debts, dollars 24,091 31 ; and commutation returned by sundry officers, in order to be placed on the pension list, dolls. 32,873.71, amounting altogether to		70,970 95	
3. The Bank shares still owned by the United States, at 25 per cent. advance		1,110,000	
			1,869,351 48
Total amount of debt *extinguished* from 1st Jan. 1790 to 1st Jan. 1800, considering the Bank shares owned by United States, as equivalent to a debt extinguished		22,508,271 59	
The monies received on loan are stated at			25,775,795 56
To which must be added,			
1. The difference between the nominal amount of six per cent stock issued in 1796, *viz.* 80,000 dollars, and the amount of money for which the same was sold, *viz.* 70,000 dollars		10,0000	
2. The interest which accrued after 1st Jan. 1790, on the domestic and assumed debt, and was funded instead of being paid		4,184,740 91	
3. The debts assumed for debtor states beyond their proportion		2,000,000	
			6,194 740 91
Total amount of debt *incurred* from 1st Jan. 1790, to 1st Jan. 1800			31,970,536 47
From which deducting the amount of debt extinguished per above			22,508,271 59
Leaves for the nominal increase of debt during that period, (being the same amount heretofore deduced from a view of the amount of debt existing at the commencement and end of the period.)			9,462,264 88

The Statement No. 4, exhibits a comparative view of the debt incurred and extinguished to the 1st day of Jan. 1800 ; by which it appears,

1. That the nominal increase of debt from 1st Jan. 1790, to 1st Jan. 1796, amounted to dollars			8,552,978 59
Which sum consisted of three items, *viz.*			
Interest accrued & funded instead of being paid	4,184,740 91		
State debts assumed for debtor states beyond their proportion	2,000,000		
Excess of expenditures beyond the receipts	2,368,237 68		
2. That there was a nominal *decrease* of debt from 1st Jan. 1796 to 1st Jan. 1799, amounting to			3,874,524 74

3. And that the debt increaſed during the year 1799, by a ſum of 4,783,811 03

It is believed, that thoſe different views of the ſubject, all agreeing in their reſult, afford ſufficient proof of the correctneſs of the details, and exhibit all the facts in ſuch a manner as to put it in the power of every attentive reader, to diſtinguiſh and form a judgment on every queſtion on which a difference of opinion does exiſt. The next important conſideration is that of the true amount of monies collected from the people, and of their application.

It appears by the ſtatement of receipts No. 2, that the monies received for balances of old accounts, loans, and ſales of Bank ſtock and land, together with the profits on exchange, amount to dolls. 27,977,382. 31. If from that ſum are deducted, the monies applied to the reduction of the deb, and to the ſubſcription to the Bank, and the balance remaining unexpended on the 1st Jan. 1800, either in America or in Holland, which ſeveral items are ſtated in ſtatement of expenditures No. 3. to amount to dolls. 25,365,670. 81 : the balance, amounting to dolls. 2,611,711. 50, added to the whole amount of monies collected from the people, will be found to have diſcharged the whole current expenditure of the nation. The current expenditure has, therefore, exceeded the ordinary revenue by a ſum of 2,611,711 dollars and 50 cents ; although that current expenditure has been diminiſhed by funding, inſtead of diſcharging intereſt on the public debt to the amount of dollars 4,184,740. 91.

The whole of the current expenditure for intereſt on the public debt and the military, civil and foreign expenſes, by ſtatement No. 3, appears to be 57,981,017 dollars, 80 cents : and the amount of " revenue and ſundries," by ſtatement No. 2, appears to be 55,369,306 dollars 30 cents ; which added to the balance above ſtated, of 2,611,711. 50, conſtitute likewiſe an aggregate of 57,981,017 dollars and 80 cents. But theſe ſums are only an apparent and not the true amount of the monies collected from the people, and of the current expenditure. For, 1st, the amount of " ſundries," conſiſts principally of repayments, which ought to be deducted, reſpectively, from the expenditure of that department to which they were originally charged ; and of intereſt received, either as dividends on the Bank ſhares owned by the United States, or on ſtock of the public debt purchaſed from the Bank of the United States and remitted to Europe ; in both which caſes it may properly be conſidered as an offset againſt, and be deducted from the amount of intereſt paid by the United States on the public debt. 2dly, Some ſimilar deductions muſt be made from the amount of " miſcellaneous expenſes," in ſtatement No. 3 3dly, The apparent amount of revenue, includes only the monies paid in the treaſury, and not the expences of collection ; which are retained by the ſeveral collectors and ſupervifors, but form, nevertheleſs, a part of the monies collected from the people, and of the current expenditure. And, 4thly, the ſums collected, but not yet paid in the treaſury, by the collectors of revenue, ſhould alſo be noticed.

1. The item denom nated " ſundries," in the ſtatement of receipts No. 2, conſiſts of the following items, *viz.*

To be deducted from the payment for intereſt on the public debt.

1. The amount of dividends received on the Bank ſtock . . . 901,920

4. Intereſt received for ſix per cent. ſtock from the time when it was purchaſed until it was ſold, after deducting that intereſt which was allowed and paid to the purchaſers in Europe . .	112,048 46		
5. Repayment by Committee of loans in 1799	1,458 48		
			1,015,426 94

To be deducted from the payments for the civil liſt.

The amount of fines and penalties for crimes, (the expences of proſecution for offences, (others than breaches of the revenue laws, being included in the civil liſt of expenditure)		4,646 50

To be deducted from the payments for the land, military or war department.

1. The proceeds of ſales of arms to France	8,962		
2. do. of do. to S. Carolina	4,240		
3. Repayments ſay	13 50		
4. Sums repaid on account of monies advanced to diſcharge certain arrearages to the late Maryland line, and *ſuppoſed* to have been originally included in the expences of the war department. . . .	5,394 57		
			18,610 07

To be deducted from the payments for the naval department.

1. Repayment	172 58		
2. Sales of French armed veſſels captured by the navy of the United States . .	12,549 24		
			12,721 82

To be deducted from the miſcellaneous expenſes.

1. Repayment on account of Indian department	12,942 77		
2. Repayment from the agents for light-houſes	924 11		
3. Amount of cents and half cents coined at the Mint	48,041 42		
			62,908 30

To be deducted from the expenſes for intercourſe with foreign nations.

A repayment by a public miniſter in Holland . . .		20

To be deducted from the expenſes for the collection of duties, which expenſes ſhall be hereafter ſtated.

1. Sale of revenue cutters, the expenſe of thoſe cutters being generally included in thoſe of collection	1,303		
2. Forfeitures for breaches of revenue law in 1799	12,342 31		
			13,735 31
Amount of profit on notes and remittances, to be added to the above ſtated balance of 2,611,711. 50, which balance includes other ſimilar profits . . .			23 82
Total amount of the item "Sundries" in Statement No. 2			1,127,092 76

II. The following items, part of the ſum of dolls. 2,059,211. 61, ſtated as the amount of miſcellaneous expenſes, ought to be deducted from the nett receipts of revenue, being principally expenſes of collection.

Part of the expenſes of collection of duties on imports.

1. Payment of demands for unclaimed merchandize	763 28	
2. Payments for building revenue cutters	623 02	1,386 30
Purchaſe of vellum, &c. for ſtamp duty, being part of the expenſe of collection of internal duties . . .		3,083 60
		4,469 90

There may be ſome other expenſes of the ſame nature, amongſt ſome of the items that conſtitute that article of the miſcellaneous expenſes, & which ſhould alſo be deducted from the nett amount of revenue or added to the expenſes of collection; but as they are not diſtinguiſhable in the ſtatements annexed to the report of the Committee, they ſhall not be noticed. It will, however, in this place, be proper to ſtate, that in the amount of dollars, 592,905. 76 ſtated as the civil liſt expenditure for 1799, are included 159,076 dollars and 10 cents expended for the valuation of lands and dwelling houſes, and which ought in the preſent view of the ſubject rather to be placed under the head of "expenſes of collection," than as part of the civil liſt expenſes.

III. The apparent amount of revenue as ſtated in ſtatement No. 3, and amounting to dolls. 54,242,213. 54, conſiſts of the following items, as ſtated by the Secretary of the Treaſury.

Duties on imports and tonnage .	50,321,525 77	
Internal duties, . .	3,633,768 93	
Poſtage of letters . .	280,808 84	
Fees on patents . . .	7,110	
		54,242,213 54

In that amount of internal duties are included the drawbacks paid on the exportation of domeſtic diſtilled ſpirits, refined ſugar and ſnuff, or rather as much of thoſe drawbacks as are returned to the exporter on account of the duty of the manufacturer. As thoſe drawbacks are paid by the collectors of duties on imports and tonnage, they diminiſh ſo far the payments made by thoſe collectors in the treaſury, which conſtitute the apparent receipts from thoſe duties. The amount of thoſe drawbacks ſhould therefore be deducted from the amount of internal duties and added to the amount of duties on imports and tonnage.

The total amount of drawbacks paid to the end of '98, on exported domeſtic diſtilled ſpirits, is ſtated by the treaſury department at dollars 547,039. 47, and ſuppoſing the drawbacks for '99 equal to thoſe of '98, the whole amount of drawbacks on ſpirits to the 1ſt Jan. 1800, may be ſtated at 590,000.

The total amount of drawbacks paid to the end of '98 on exported refined ſugar, is ſtated at 39,681. 71, and including thoſe paid during '99, may be eſtimated at 43,000

The amount of drawbacks paid on exported ſnuff is about	21,000
Altogether	654,000

But as the drawback on ſpirits, includes not only ſeven cents per gallon returned as the duty on the manufacture, but alſo a duty which has varied from 3 to 4 cents per gallon, returned as the duty laid on the importation of molaſſes; and as the drawback on refined ſugar is alſo, in part on account of the duty of 2 cents per pound on the manufacture, and in part on account of the duty on brown ſugar imported, it is neceſſary to make the proper deductions from the total amount of drawbacks, as paid at the Cuſtom Houſes; and it will be found that the true amount of drawbacks, paid on thoſe articles, ſolely on account of, and returned as the amount of the internal duty laid on the manufacture is—for ſpirits 447,000 dollars, for refined ſugar 17,000 dollars, and for ſnuff 21,000 dollars, altogether 485,000 dollars; which ſum deducted from the apparent amount of internal duties, and added to the apparent amount of duties on imports and tonnage, will make the amount of imports and tonnage

	50,806,525 77
And the amount of internal duties	3,147,768 93

To theſe ſums thus corrected it is neceſſary to add the expenſes of collection.

The expenſes of collection, paid out of the revenue, on the duties on imports and tonnage, from the commencement of the preſent government to the 1st Jan. 1799, amount to 2,088,153. 34. Valuing thoſe for 1799 at about the average of thoſe of '97 and '98, *viz.* dolls. 361, 846. 66, will give for the whole 2,450,000 dollars. In addition to theſe, the officers receive fees paid by individuals, and which, although they are not brought in the general account of renenue, are not leſs monies collected from the people, and a part of the expences of collection. The whole amount of fees received by the collectors has never, it is believed, been ſtated; but that of ſeveral years has been ſtated to Congreſs. The fees received during '98 amounted to 101,000 dollars, and by comparing the amount of ſeveral years, it appears probable that they amount to about one and one half per cent. of the whole amount of monies paid for thoſe duties in the treaſury, or to about 760,000 dollars from the commencement of the preſent government, to the 1st Jan. 1800. The whole of the expenſes of collection of thoſe duties may, therefore, be computed at 3,210,000, which is about ſix and one third per cent. on the total amount of nett receipts in the treaſury, or ſomething leſs than ſix per cent. on the amount of monies collected from the people, on account of thoſe duties.

The receipts from the duties in '98 were 7,106,061. 93; and adding the drawbacks on ſpirits, refined ſugar and ſnuff, amounted to 7,137,976. 54. For that year the expenſes of collection paid out of the revenue were dollars 376,063. 43, and the fees 101,000 dollars, in all 477,000, or near ſix and two thirds per cent. on the nett receipts in the treaſury.

The expenſes of collection on the internal duties are eſtimated by the Secretary of the Treaſury to have amounted, from their commencement to the cloſe of the year 1798, to dollars 602,080. 26. Thoſe for the year 1799 cannot have been far from 150,000 dollars. The groſs

amount of the emoluments of the officers for the year '98, excluſively of the contingent expences, (valued at 10,000 dollars) amounted to dollars 125,781. 76, and their ſalaries and compenſations were larger in '99 than in '98. The total amount of expenſes of collection for that claſs of duties may, therefore, be eſtimated to the 1st Jan. 1800 at 750,000 dollars, being almoſt 24 per cent. on the nett receipts in the treaſury during the ſame period, or about 19 and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the amount of monies collected from the people on account of thoſe duties.

The total amount of expenſes of collection for both claſſes of duties may, therefore, be eſtimated at 3,960,000 dollars.

IV. The monies received by the ſeveral collectors and ſupervifors, and not yet paid into the treaſury, are either aſcertained by a ſettlement of accounts, or yet unknown and depending on a future ſettlement of accounts.

It appears that on the 1st Jan. 1799 the balances due by the collectors of the cuſtoms, and aſcertained to conſiſt of caſh in hand, amounted to dolls. 888,368. 64. On the ſame day there was a ſum of 1,428 948. 58, ſtated to be nominally due by collectors, but conſiſting partly of duties uncollected, and partly of caſh in hand. Suppoſing the caſh in hand to have borne the ſame proportion to the whole ſum, which the aſcertained ſum of dolls. 888,368. 64 bore to the groſs amount of uncollected duties and caſh in hand charged to the collectors who owed the ſaid aſcertained ſums, that caſh in hand (part of the above ſum of dolls. 1,428,948. 58) muſt have amounted to ſomething more than 123,000 dollars. The caſh in hands of collectors of cuſtoms may, therefore, be eſtimated to have been on 1st Jan. 1799 about one million of dollars.

The ſtatement from which thoſe ſums are extracted, was laid before Congreſs in April—May 1800, and was probably completed by the treaſury department in March 1800. It exhibits the names of one hundred and one collectors; the accounts of ninety-four were ſettled at that time, (March 1800) to the cloſe of '98, and only ſeven were not ſettled to that day. Of thoſe ſeven, three were collectors not in office. The balances ſtated to be due by the other four, were due on the days to which their accounts were ſettled (31ſt Dec. '97, and 30th June, '98) and might be ſomething more or leſs on the 31ſt Dec. '98. The difference could not, however, materially change the reſult. Of the aſcertained ſum of 888,368 dollars and 64 cents in hands of collectors on the 1st Jan. 1799; 221,538 dollars and 9 cents were due by eighteen *late* collectors, ſixteen of whom, had, on that day, been more than one year out of office.

The accounts of the ſupervifors of the internal revenues, are far from being ſettled in as ſatisfactory manner, as even thoſe of the collectors.

By the ſame ſtatement, it appears, that on the 1st Jan. 1799, there was a ſum due by ſupervifors out of office, amountiug to 31,183 dollars and 24 cents: that at the time when the ſtatement was completed (March 1800) the accounts of eight ſupervifors in office, were ſettled to the cloſe of '98; the caſh in hand, of thoſe eight officers, amounting on that day to dolls. 99,518. 20; that at the ſame time, (March 1800) the accounts of ſix other ſupervifors were ſettled, either to the 30th June '97, the 31ſt Dec. '97, or the 30th June '98, that the caſh in hand, of five of theſe laſt ſupervifors, amount-

ed to 114,340 dollars and 72 cents, at the time reſpectively when their accounts were ſettled; a ſum which may have increaſed or diminiſhed ſince that time; that the uncollected duties, and caſh in hand (both blended together) charged to the ſixth, amounted to 108,027. 26 on the 30th June '97, date of the ſettlement of his account—and that the accounts of the two other ſuperviſors, (Pennſylvania, Kentuckey and N. W. Territory) have never yet been ſettled. From thoſe data, it is impoſſible to aſcertain with preciſion the monies in hands of the ſuperviſors; and it muſt be added that there are alſo ſums of money in the hands of the collectors of the internal revenues, which are not aſcertained. This points out one of the principal cauſes, why the accounts of the ſuperviſors are not ſettled as punctually as thoſe of the collectors of cuſtoms. Thoſe have only to ſettle each their reſpective accounts; but the ſuperviſors having under them inſpectors and collectors of the internal revenues, the unſettled accounts of any one of thoſe collectors is ſufficient to prevent the final ſettlement of the accounts of the ſuperviſor.

In one of the ſtatements (No. 8) annexed to the report of the Committee, the balances in hands of the collectors of cuſtoms, at the cloſe of '99, are ſtated at only 447,296 dollars and 17 cents; and thoſe in hands of the ſuperviſors, at the ſame date, at 84,951 dollars and 64 cents. That account can be reconciled with the preceding on three ſuppoſitions—either that in the accounts of receipts and expenditures from which the preceding facts are extracted, the amount of duties actually due, but not yet paid, are conſidered as caſh in the hands of collectors—or that the balances had been conſiderably diminiſhed by payments during the year '99—or that the ſtatement, annexed to the report of the Committee, exhibits only the ſums poſitively known to be ſubject to the diſpoſal of the treaſury, excluding all ſums not actually ſettled, and all thoſe which, on account of inſolvency of officers of the revenue, or of other circumſtances cauſing a delay, could not immediately be received in the treaſury.

Although, therefore, it is probable that an amount of about 1,400,000 dollars has been collected from the people, over and above the receipts in the treaſury, and expenſes of collection, as it is difficult to aſcertain with any degree of preciſion the real amount, as the object of this enquiry is, principally to ſhow the *application* of the monies collected from the people, and as the amount in the hands of the officers of the revenue, whatever it may be, is yet unexpended, it may be omitted in the preſent view of the ſubject.

From thoſe data is deducted the following ſtatement of the amount of monies collected from the people, and of their application. The only part of that ſtatement, grounded on eſtimate, is that which relates to the expenſes of collection, and as thoſe expenſes are added, both to the amount of monies collected, and to that of expenditure, any miſtake there affects not any other reſult.

The revenue ariſing from duties on imports and tonnage including expenſes of collection, and making the ſeveral allowances for drawbacks, forfeitures, cutters and unclaimed merchandize, above noted, was .	54,018,874 78

The revenue arising from internal duties, including expenses of collection, and making the allowances for drawbacks, and purchase of vellum above noted .	3,894,685	33
The revenue arising from postage, excluding the expenses of collection, which, in relation to that revenue, are not considered as monies collected from the people, but as the payment, by the persons receiving letters, of a benefit immediately accruing to them	280,808	84
The revenue arising from fees on patents, &c. . .	7,110	
Total amount of monies collected from the people, from the establishment of the present government to 1st Jan. 1800, exclusively of the monies received by the collectors of the revenue, and not yet paid by the people	58,201,478	95

And that sum, together with the above-mentioned balance of dollars 2,611,735. 32, consisting of the excess of the proceeds of loans, sales of Bank stock and lands, balance arising from the former government, and profits on exchange over the sums applied to the subscription of the Bank, and to the payment of the principal of the public debt, and with the above noted item of 23 dollars and 82 cents, arising from profit on remittance, &c. make an aggregate of dollars . . 60,813,214 27

which has been expended in the following manner :

1. Interest on the public debt, deducting the amount of dividends on Bank shares, interest on six per cent stock, & repayment above stated . . .			26,544,003 41
2. Civil list, including the expenses of assessing the land tax, and deducting the amount of penalties for crimes above stated			4,260,768 84
3. Miscallanous expenses, deducting the repayments for the Indian department and light-houses, the purchase of vellum, cutters, &c. and the amount of cents and half cents coined at the mint, & consisting of the following items, *viz.*			
1. Pensions to invalids . . .	908,607	34	
2. Indian treaties and trade . .	183,525	23	
3. Light house establishment . .	346,784	92	
4. Mint do. *(a)* . .	86,581	63	
5. Annuities and grants, including that to Gen. Greene's estate, & one of 15,000 dols. to the French refugees from St. Domingo	130,800.	31	
6. Census of the inhabitants of the U. S.	44,377	28	
7. Loan to the city of Washington	100,000		
8. Contingent and miscellaneous demands	192,156	70	
			1,992,833 41
4. Expences of collection of the revenue, estimated at			3,950,000
5. Intercourse with foreign nations, deducting a re-payment above noted, *viz.*			
1. Support of ministers and incidental expenses - -	759,293	75	

2. Protection of American ſeamen	50,000		
3. Expenſe of prize cauſes -	80,000		
4. Expenſes incident on the treaty with Great-Britain -	163,120	13	
5. do. do. do. with Spain	75,683		
6. Payments for treaties with Algiers and other Barbary powers	1,682,422	77	
			2,810,519 66
6. Land military eſtabliſhment, deducting re-payments and ſales of arms, *viz.*			
1. Army - -	12,324,639	42	
2. Fortifications -	546,931	54	
3. Purchaſes of arms and ſtores	848,223	28	
4. Expenſes attending military expeditions in Pennſylvania, for inſurrections in 1794 and 1799	1,250,000		
			14,969,794 24
7. Navy, deducting re-payment and proceeds of prizes as per above - - -			6,285,294 71
Amount of the *actual* expenditure to 1ſt Jan. 1800, excluſive of the monies applied to the reduction of the debt, and to the ſubſcription to the bank			60,813,214 27

(a) Excluſively of the pay of the officers of the Mint, included in civil liſt, and amounting, from its firſt eſtabliſhment to the 1ſt Jan. 1800—*dolls.* 70,172.55—*in all dollars* 156,754 18.

It muſt be underſtood that this ſtatement, in relation principally to the three laſt items of intercourſe with foreign nations, military eſtabliſhment, and navy, exhibits only the diſburſements from the treaſury, but not the *ultimate* application of the money. The accounts uſually tranſmitted to Congreſs, with few exceptions, ſhow only the advances made by the trreaſury to the ſecretary of ſtate, (as agent for the greater part of the expenſes incident to the intercourſe with foreign nations) to the paymaſter, quarter-maſter-general, purveyors of public ſupplies, contractors for proviſions and ſupplies. agents for building ſhips, and for other ſervices, *&c.* but do not exhibit, except in a few inſtances, the application of monies by, and ſettlement of accounts of thoſe receivers of public monies. A number of thoſe accounts are, however, finally ſettled at the treaſury, and although the apparent amount of monies yet unaccounted for, or of unſettled accounts, was underſtood, on the 1ſt Jan. laſt, to exceed eight millions of dollars, yet the ſeveral perſons who appear thus charged with balances, have, in many, and may, in all inſtances, have applied the monies received by them from the treaſury to the purpoſes for which they were paid or advanced by the treaſury. How far this may be true, or, how far, on the contrary, public monies may have been miſapplied by the agents who firſt received

them from the treaſury, or by the perſons amongſt whom thoſe agents may have diſtributed the ſame, cannot be deduced from the public accounts trranſmitted to Congreſs, nor aſcertained until the accounts are fully ſettled. Nor do the ſtatements made to Congreſs give any view, except in the inſtance of collectors, already noticed, and perhaps in a few ſolitary caſes, of the balances actually found due to the United States on ſettlements of accounts, or of the length of time for which they may have been due. One fact appears rather extraordinary. The whole amount of monies received from March '89, to January 1800, from perſons indebted to the United States for balances of accounts which have originated under the former government, and including, therefore, all the balances of the laſt war accounts, amount only, including intereſt, to dolls. 86,678. 05. It would be uſeful to publiſh ſtatements of the accounts actually ſettled, ſhowing the ultimate and real application of the monies advanced, and of the balances which may have been found due on ſettlement and remain unpaid—and of the accounts only partially ſettled, or unſettled, ſhowing the application of monies ſo far as a partial ſettlement has been made and the balances remaining unaccounted for; and diſtinguiſhing the caſes amongſt apparently unſettled accounts, where accounts have been rendered, and plauſible evidence of the truth of the account given, but a final ſettlement remains ſuſpended for want of ſufficient vouchers from thoſe, where, after a reaſonable time has been given, no plauſible account has been rendered.

As there are two ſubjects, which have to a conſiderable degree attracted public attention, the expenſes of the Algerine treaty, and thoſe incurred on account of the differences with France; theſe obſervations will be concluded by ſome details relative to thoſe two points.

I. The whole amount of appropriatiods for treaties with, and payments to Algiers and the other Mediterranean powers, is dolls. 1,848, 717. 97; the balance remaining unexpended, on 31ſt December 1797, 166,295. 20: the amount paid by the treaſury, to that day, dollars 1,682,422. 77. Of theſe it is probable that 1,500,000 dollars have been paid for Algiers, and the balance to the other Mediterranean powers; and that one million and a half may be arranged under three heads—treaty—annuities——extraordinary extortions, or in official language, "unexpected demands."

The treaty expenſes eſtimated at dolls. 1,131,391. 03, and conſiſt of four items.

1. The original coſt of the treaty ſeems to have been 816,413 dollars, *to wit.*

To be paid the dey	180,000	
The dey's family	60,000	
Department of treaſury	40,000	
The ſeveral officers of goverment, & of houſhold, from the chief aga to the two cooks	65,000	
Redemption of 100 captives	180,000	
This is called nhe prime coſt of the treaty		525,000
Per centage on the captives		27,000
Other expenſes not enumerated		90,000
Naval ſtores ſtipulated at 57,000 dolls. coſt		124,413
Freight of the ſame to Algiers		50,000
		816,413

2. For contingencies including expenſes for captives, &c. the eſtimate, on which the appropriation was made, amounted to dollars 45, 064. 44.

3. The money deſigned for the treaty was in London. The peculiar circumſtances of Europe, which rendered the exportation of coin from England impoſſible, and remittances to other parts difficult; the want, perhaps, of ſufficient knowledge or capacity in money trranſactions, of one of the principal agents of the United States; and the precipitation of a ſubordinate agent, who landed at Algiers the 31 Sept. '95, and ſigned the treaty the 5th; combined together to prevent, on the part of the agents of the United States, a punctual fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty. The money was payable at fartheſt on the 1ſt Jan. '96, and had not been remitted to Algiers in April. They dey became impatient, threatened to abandon the treaty, and to renew his depredations. In order to ſave the treaty, the agents of the United States were induced to offer the preſent of a frigate, the price of which was eſtimated at dollars 99,727

which added to an additional expenſe incident to the ſame tranſaction of 18,000

made for the loſs ariſing from delays, diſappointment, and miſmanagement in Europe dolls. 117,727

4. The ſum of 800,000 dollars, appropriated for the Algerine treaty, was borrowed from the bank of the United States. The bank, whoſe original capital conſiſted of a large amount of ſix per cent. ſtock, did not chooſe to lend ſpecie, but offered ſix per cent ſtock at par. The ſtock was borrowed on thoſe terms between the 21ſt Feb. & 7th March '95. The loan was authorized on the firſt of thoſe days, and the ſtock remitted to our bankers in London on the laſt. Of that ſum 560,000 dolls. were ſold for £.111,053 15 0 ſterling, equal to dolls. 493,572. 22 and by report of the ſecretary of the Treaſury, the remaining 240,000 dollars, were eſtimated at 80 per cent. or 192,000 dolls. The whole 800,000 dolls. ſix per cent. borrowed at par from the bank, produced 685, 572. 22 effective dollars in London. The loſs on that remittance was therefore 114,427. 78 dollars. There was another loſs ariſing from having remitted that ſtock to London, on account of loſs on the rate of exchange thence to the Mediterranean. This loſs is eſtimated in the ſame document, from which theſe facts are extracted, at dolls. 37,758 81

making altogether for loſſes dolls. 152,186 59

Recapitulation.

1. The treaty originally coſt dolls.		816,413
2. Contingencies		45,064 44
3. Loſſes ariſing from delays & miſmanagement in Europe	117,727	861,477 44
4. Loſs ariſing from ſix per ct. ſtock having been remitted to London	152,186 59	
		269,913 59
Total expenſe of the treaty		1,131,391 03

The annuity to be paid to the dey was ſtipulated at 24,000 dollars a year, payable in naval ſtores, which, at the rate they were eſtimated at, is lower than the actual price, wil-

coſt 72,123 dollars & 31 1-2 cents, making for the years '96 and '99, a ſum of dolls. 288,493. 26.

The extraordinary extortions ariſe from demands, with which our agents think themſelves obliged to comply, in order to preſerve peace. The dey wiſhed the United States, once, to build veſſels fit for cruiſing for him, which he was to pay out of the annuity. A ſum of 47,000 dollars was appropriated in July '97, for that purpoſe, and two or three veſſels actually built for him. Whether he has conſented to a deduction from the annuity, on that account, is not known to the writer. He alſo inſiſts that property, belonging to his ſubjects, and freighted on an American veſſel, ſhall be paid by the United States, whenever the veſſel has been captured by one of the belligerent powers; and at the ſame time pretends, that he has a right to compel any American veſſel in his ports to take freight for him. On account of ſundry demands of this kind, an appropriation was made in the ſeſſion of '98—'99. The whole appropriation, which embraced ſeveral other objects relative to the Mediterranean powers, was 200,000 dollars—72,000 of which were expended in 99. What proportion was applied to Algiers does not appear; but ſuppoſing it to have been dolls. 33,115. 71; the account will ſtand thus:

Treaty	1,131,391 03
Annuity for 4 years	288,493 26
Extaordinary extortions	80,117 51

making in all 1,500,000 dollars.

It is to be recollected, that part of thoſe calculations are grounded on the eſtimates laid before Congreſs, & the appropriations made accordingly and not on account of the ultimate expenditure of the money. The items relative to the price of naval ſtores, to the coſt of the frigate and other veſſels, to the ſale of the laſt parcel of ſix per cent. ſtock, amounting to 240,000 dollars, and to the item of extraordinary extortions, may, therefore, be found to amount to ſomewhat more or leſs than is here ſet down. But the difference cannot be great; and as the ſum of dolls. 1,682,422. 77, has actually been diburſed by the treaſury, the only queſtion is, whether a greater or leſs part of that ſum has been expended for the other Mediterranean powers, than 182,422 dollars and 77 cents.

Having mentioned the loan of 800,000 dollars obtained from the bank, in ſix per cent ſtock, it is proper to add that, in the ſame year, '95, the treaſury purchaſed from the bank another ſum of ſix per cent. ſtock, amounting to dolls. 660,373. 33, and remitted the ſame to Holland, in order that the proceeds might be applied for the payments of intereſt and principal on the Dutch debt. Of that ſum 160,000 dollars ſeems to have been purchaſed in April, & 500,000 dollars in Sept. '95, and both purchaſes *at par*. Six hundred and forty thouſand dollars of that ſtock have produced in Holland 532,107 dollars and 34 cents. The remaining 20,373 dollars and 33 cents have been returned to the treaſury, and have been noticed in the courſe of theſe obſervations. The loſs on the part ſold has been 107,892 dollars and 66 cents, and on the loan of 800,000 dollars, was 114,427 dollars and 78 cents. By thoſe tranſactions, the bank has obtained ſpecie for 1,460,000 dollars of its ſix per cent. ſtock, at par, and the United States have loſt about 220,000 dollars.

II. It has been ſtated, that from the eſtabliſhment of the preſent government, until the cloſe of 1795, the

current expenditure had exceeded the receipts by a ſum exceeding two millions and a half of dollars; from whence had reſulted an increaſe of debt to that amount, excluſively of that increaſe, owing to the accumulation of intereſt on the domeſtic debt, which was funded inſtead of being paid, and to the aſſumption of ſtate debts, in favour of debtor ſtates, beyond their proportion. But it appears, by ſtatement, No. 5, that during the years '96, '97 and '98, the receipts exceeded the expenditure by a ſum of 3,874,52 dollars and 74 cents, which produced a diminution of debt to the ſame amount. This was owing immediately to an augmentation of revenue and to a diminution of expenſes. The diminution of expenſes was produced principally by the reduction of the military eſtabliſhment made by the fourth Congreſs; and the increaſe of revenue was owing partly to additions to the impoſt and ſome other taxes laid by the ſame Congreſs, partly to the increaſe of population, and partly to the increaſe of wealth occaſioned by the neutral ſituation of the United States. The far greater part of the revenue being drawn from duties on conſumption, any increaſe in the number or wealth of the conſumers produces an increaſe of revenue, independent of new taxes. On the other hand, the real increaſe of debt during '99 was 4,783 811 dollars and 3 cents. One year of hoſtility added one million more to the public debt, than had been paid off in three proſperous years of neutrality. Not only a debt was created, but that reduction of the public debt which would otherwiſe have been effected, did not take place.

The revenue of '96 and '97, excluſively of loans and ſale of Bank ſtock, exceeded the ſame revenue for '98 and '99, by only 200,000 dollars, and the payments for intereſt on the debt in '96 and 97 exceeded thoſe in '98—'99, by near 300,000 dollars. Had therefore, no change of circumſtances taken place, had no additional expences incurred, a reduction of debt would have been effected in '98 and '99, at leaſt equal to what was effected in '96 and '97. The nett amount of debt *diſcharged*, during theſe two years, was dolls. 3,046,028. 60. The nett amount of debt *incurred* during '98 and '99 is dolls. 3,955,314. 89. The difference reſulting from the additional expences, incurred during '98 and 99, appears in this view of the ſubject, to amount to *ſeven millions* of dollars. A more preciſe reſult may be deduced from a conſideration of the expences themſelves.

The whole amount expended for the military eſtabliſhment, navy included, during the years '96 and' 97 was (Statement No. 3) dollars 3,026,042. 79. The whole amount expended for the ſame objects, during the years '98 and '99 (deducting dolls 80,007. 66, expended on account of the inſurrection in '99) is dollars 9,566,669. 58. The difference is dolls. 6,530,626. 79. And as the revenue for theſe two laſt years was leſs than in '96 and '97, no part of that expence has been defrayed by an additional revenue; but the whole has been paid, either by a revenue which otherwiſe would have been employed in the reduction of the public debt, or by creating a new debt. The public debt was, on the 1st Jan. 1800, almoſt five millions of dollars larger than it actually was in the middle of '98, and preciſely ſix millions and a half larger than it would have been, had not thoſe additional expences been incurred. In order to have a complete view of the direct loſs cauſed by the additional expenſes, it is ne-

ceſſary to examine what will be the reſult of the year 1800.

The army eſtabliſhment for the year 1797, coſt dolls. 1,062,299,04 The additional expenses authorized in 1798, in relation to that object, conſiſted excluſively of the purchaſes of arms and amunition, of about 3,000,000 dollars, one million applicaple to a permanent increaſe of the ſtanding army, and two millions neceſſary for the ſupport of the additional, or temporary army, which has lately been diſbanded. Had the increaſe taken place the moment it was voted, it would have produced an additional expenſe of four millions and a half for the ſix laſt months of 1798 and the year 1799. As the recruiting ſervice did not immediately commence, and proceeded gradually, the whole additional expenſe, including purchaſes of arms and military ſtores, was, for thoſe eighteen months only dollars 3,415,748, 60, and has already been taken into conſideration. The eſtimate for 1800, was originally made on a ſuppoſition that the whole eſtabliſhment would be filled and continued, and for the army, excluſively of arms and amunition, exceeded four million of dollars. The ſuſpenſion of the enliſtments in Jan. 1800, made a ſaving of one million, and the diſbanding of the additional army will ſave after the year 1800 another million; but as the troops were diſbanded only in June, and allowed three months extra pay, there will not be more than 300,000 dollars ſaved on that head this year. The expenſes for the military eſtabliſhment, including the navy, are, therefore, calculated as followeth:

Army		2,700,000
Navy—pay, proviſions, contingencies	2,500,000	
Towards building ſix 74's	700,000	
		3,200,000
Purchaſe of arms, ammunition, and military ſtores eſtimated by treaſury, at 1,000,000. ſuppoſed to be expended in relation to this object		600,000
Probable expenſe of 1800		6,500,000
The average expenſe of '96—'97, was		1,500,000
The additional expenſe for 1800, will be		5,000,000

Which five millions, added to the ſix millions and a half, extraordinary expenſe for the latter part of '98, and for the year '99, make an aggregate of *eleven millions of dollars and a half*, for the extraordinary expenſes of the military and naval eſtabliſhments from June '98, to the cloſe of 1800.

The following Eſtimate of the Receipts and Expenditures of the year 1800, will ſhow the probable increaſe of debt for that year,

EXPENDITURES.

Intereſt on the public debt	3,500,000
Civil liſt and miſcellaneous	1,200,000
Expenſes of intercourſe with foreign nations	400,000
Military and naval eſtabliſhment, per above	6,500,000
Current expenditure	11,600,000

Payments of principal of the debt, including reimburſement of 6 per cent. ſtock . . .		1,200,000
Total		12,800,000

RECEIPTS.

Impoſt, including increaſe ariſing from additions made this year	7,200,000
Internal revenue . . .	800,000
Probable receipt of land tax, as eſtimated by the Secretary	1,200,000
Dividends on bank ſtock, duties on poſtage .	100,000
Revenue	9,300,000
There were, on 1ſt Jan. 1800, more than 2 millions of dollars in treaſury, of which, applicable to the current expenditures, as eſtimated by the Secretary . .	1,000,000
Probable amount of the new loan .	2,500,000
	12,800,000

Deducting the 1,200,000 dollars to be applied to the reduction of the debt, from the loan of two millions and a half, will leave for the increaſe of debt 1,300,000 dolls.

It appears, therefore, that the extra expenſe of eleven millions and a half has been, or will be ultimately paid by

1. The increaſe of debt in 1789	4,780,000	
1800	1,320,000	
		6,100,000
2. The additional probable revenue of 1800		
Land tax	1,200,000	
Additions to the impoſt	300,000	
		1,500,000
3. That part of the ordinary revenue of '98, '99, and 1800, which, otherwiſe would have been applied to the reduction of the debt—about . .		4,000,000
		11,600,000

Had no extraordinary expenſe been incurred, and the additional taxes, (land tax and additional impoſt) been ſtill raiſed, the public debt would have been on the 1ſt Jan. 1800, eleven millions and a half dollars leſs than it will be. But if, which doubtleſs would have been the caſe. the additional taxes had not been laid, the public debt would have been on that day, ten millions of dollars leſs than it will be. The difference to the people of the U. S. is ten millions of debt, and one million and half additional taxes. It is even probable that the real loſs cauſed by the meaſures adopted in relation to France, amounts to more than eleven millions and an half of dollars.

The average of the receipts from impoſt and internal duties, from the 1ſt Jan. 1796 to Jan. 1798, was in round numbers 7,580,000 dollars a year, and for the yaars 1798 and 1799 was 7,570,000 dollars. Yet the following taxes operated exclu-

ſively, of almoſt altogether in favor of the revenue of the two laſt years,

1. Duty of ½ cent per pound of brown ſugar, eſtimated at 200,000 dollars, and of 2½ per cent. on ſundry goods eſtimated 200,000 dollars, making altogether 400,000 dollars, were laid in 1797, and operated on neither on 1796, nor on the firſt months in 1797.

2. A duty of 8 cents per buſhel on ſalt eſtimated at 200,000 dollars, was laid in 1797, and operated neither in 1796, nor in the firſt nine months of 1797.

3. The ſtamp duties eſtimated at 200,000 dollars, operated only from 1ſt July 1798.

Had there been no diminution of revenue ariſing from other cauſes, the average amount of receipts for 1798 and 1799, ſhould have exceeded that of 1796 and 1797, by the following ſums.

1. The proceeds of duties on ſugar and other articles ſhould have been for 1797 & 1798, dolls. 800,000 and for 1797, dolls. 200,000, the difference is dolls. 600,000.

2. The additional ſalt duty for 1798 and 1799, dolls. 400,000, for 1797 only dolls. 50,000—difference, dolls. 350,000.

3. The ſtamp duties for one year and a half, dolls. 300,000.

Thoſe three items amount altogether to 1,250,000 dollars for the years 1797 and 1798, or 625,000 a year. The average revenue of theſe two laſt years, ſhould have exceeded that of the two proceeding years, by 625,000 dollars, but on the contrary fell ſhort of it. The revenues exiſting in 1797 experienced, therefore, a diminution of 625,000 dollars a year in 1798 and 1799—that diminution fell principally on the year 1799.

Several cauſes have probably combined in cauſing that diminution. So far as the ſuſpenſion of the commercial intercourſe with France, may have diminiſhed the profits of commerce, or the price of any of our exports, the income of the conſumers has been diminiſhed, and ſo far the conſumption of articles paying a revenue has decreaſed. It is not the object of this enquiry to attempt to aſcertain how far *that* cauſe may have diminiſhed the revenue. Still leſs is it intended to inveſtigate the neceſſity, or advantages of the meaſures which have authorized the extraordinary expenſe of thoſe three years. It is ſufficient to have ſhown, that independent of any indirect loſs in the revenue, the actual coſt, from the accounts already produced, exceeded ſix millions and an half dollars for the firſt eighteen months of hoſtilities. and will from the eſtimates which have been made by the departments, amount to eleven and half millions at the cloſe of this year.

Statements referred to in the preceeding work.

No. 1.

Statement of the Public Debt on 1ſt Jan. 1790, *and 1ſt Jan.* 1800.

ON 1ſt JANUARY 1790.

Foreign Debt,			Dolls.	Cts.
French debt, including arrear of intereſt		7.895,300, 39		
Spaniſh debt,	do.	do.	241,680, 95	
Dutch debt,	do.	do.	3,600,000,	
			11,736,981	34

Foreign Officers,			
Principal - - - -	186,988, 23		
Arrearages of intereſt - -	10,822, 05		
			197,810 28
Domeſtic Debt,			
Principal as funded originally -	27,768,297. 85		
Deduct payment of lands ſold to Pennſylvania - - -	90,674, 16		
	27,677.623, 69		
Value of paper money funded at 100 for 1	480,823, 83		
Unſubſcribed regiſtered debt, - -	86,561, 34		
		28,245,008, 86	
Intereſt to 1ſt January 1790, (deducting dollars 22,438, 58, intereſt on debt due to foreign officers)	11,213,737. 41		
Deduct received in pay for lands ſold to Pennſylvania - --	60,718, 25		
	11,153,019. 16		
			39,398,028 02
Aſſumed debt,			
Principal of ſtate certificates aſſumed	15,082,771, 33		
Intereſt prior to 1ſt Jan, 1790	1,379,110, 85		
	16,461,882, 18		
Deduct aſſumption for debtors ſtates beyond their proportion, *viz.* 2,069,565.71 including intereſt to 1ſt Jan. 1792, & without the intereſt after 1st Jan. '92, eſtimated	2,000,000		
	14,461,882 18		
Balances funded in favor of creditor ſtates	3,517,584		
		17,979,466, 18	
Unfunded debts diſcharged in ſpecie - - -		428,080, 45	
Public debt on Jan. 1, 1790 - -		69,740,366, 27	
On the 1ſt January, 1800.			
Foreign debt		10,760,000	
Old ſix per cent. nominal, deducting amount transferred to ſinking fund .	28,225,669 63		
Deduct the reimburſements	3,215,575 37		
	25,010,094 26		
Deferred ſtock, deducting amount transferred to ſinking fund .	13,682,944 17		

Three per cent. do. do.	19,086,708 54		
Five and a half per cent. do. do.	1,847,500		
Four and a half per cent. .	176,000		
		59,803,246	97
Outſtanding debt due to foresgn officers, and regiſtered debt		100,184	18
Six pet cent ſtock of 1796 . .	80,000		
Eight per cent ſtock . . .	5,000,000		
Six per cent navy ſtock . .	929,200		
		6,009,200	
Temporary loans obtained from the bank . . .		3,640,000	
Public debt on 1ſt Jan. 1800, . .		80,312,631	15
Deduct Bank ſhares owned by the United States at 25 per cent advance		1,110,000	
		79,202,631	15
Public debt on 1ſt Jan. 1790 . . .		69,740,366	27
Increaſe of debt '90 to 1800 . .		9,462,264	88

No. 2.

Statement of the Receipts of the United States, from the eſtabliſhment of the preſent Government, to the 1ſt January, 1800.

Years.	Bal. due under former government	Loans.	Sales of Bank ſtock.	Sales of Lands.	Revenue.	Sundries	Total.
'89-'90-'91	251,081 50	5,203,600	. .	. .	4,399,472 99	9,296 82	9,863,451 31
'92	4,702 82	5,028,995 56	. .	. .	3,652,013 66	12,386	8,698,098 04
'93	8,448 58	1,124,000	. .	. .	4,604,692 77	39,781 79	5,776,923 14
'94	693 50	4,600,000	. .	. .	5,105,203 39	326,007 98	10,031,904 87
'95	5,317 97	3,300,000	. .	. .	5,949,216 62	164,800	9 419,334 59
'96	5,053 74	320,000	1,080,000	4,836 13	7,117,567 38	212,872 40	8,740,329 65
'97	17,714 95	70,000	304,260	83,540 60	8,191,237 10	92,048 34	8,758,800 99
'98	6,710 68	200,000	. .	11,993 11	7,790,933 88	155,336 59	8,164,944 26
'99	2,943 39	5,929,200	. .	. .	7,431,875 75	114,562 84	13,478,581 98
	302,667 13	25,775,795 56	1,384,260	100,339 84	54,242,213 54	1,127,092 76	82,932,368 83
				(a) Profits on Exchange	- -	-	414,319 78
						Total	83,346,688 61

(a) On remittances from Holland to France 358,862 91
On do. from do. to Spain 21,909 60
On do. from do. to America being balance of account, profit and loſs in Holland - 33,547 27

414,319 78

No. III.

Statement of the Expenditures of the United States, from the establishment of the present Government, to 1st Jan. 1800.

	Public Debt.			Civil.		Military.		Foreign.	
	Subscription to the Bank.	Principal of Debt.	Interest on Debt.	Civil List.	Miscellaneous	Land.	Navy.	Intercourse with foreign nations.	Total
'89 '91	—	3,232,639 74	2,454,217 10	706,720 29	271,209 78	740,409 10	—	14,733 33	7,419,929 34
1792	2,000,000	2,205,386 55	3,044,918 70	375,319 86	183,745 25	1,114,350 94	—	78,766 67	9,002,487 97
1793	—	3,033,554 06	2,830,290 21	352,911 57	128,385 36	1,132,443 91	—	89,500	7,567,085 11
1794	—	2,311,985 93	3,497,562 65	440,946 58	213,947 18	2,652,140 05	61,408 97	131,403 51	9,309,394 87
1795	—	2,896,390 30	3,041,548 33	361,633 36	162,261 87	2,502,385 81	410,562 03	912,685 12	10,287,466 82
1796	—	2,093,631 31	3,184,632 61	447,139 05	306,609 38	1,306,327 82	274,784 04	184,859 64	7,797,983 85
1797	—	2,720,956 32	3,291,696 58	483,233 70	235,217 06	1,062,299 04	382,631 89	669,788 54	8,845,823 13
1798	—	1,019,886 56	3,049,927 80	504,605 17	266,275 78	1,930,684 73	1,381,347 76	457,428 74	8,610,156 54
1799	—	1,140,416 53	3,164,636 37	592,905 76	291,559 95	2,547,362 91	3,787,281 84	271,374 11	11,795,537 47
	2,000,000	20,654,847 30	27,559,430 35	4,265,415 34	2,059,211 61	14,988,404 31	6,298,016 53	2,810,539 66	80,635,865 10

Specie in Treasury on 1st Jan. 1800 -	2,161,867 67	2,710,823 51
in Holland do. - -	548,955 84	
Total Receipts		83,346,688 61

No. IV.

Statement, shewing the amount of Debt respectively incurred and extinguished, from 1st Jan. 1790, to 1st January 1800.

Years.	Debt Incurred. Interest accrued & funded.	Assumed for debtor states.	Loans including sales of Bank stock.	Total.	Debt Extinguished. A.	Increase.	Decrease.
'90 '95	4,184,740 91	2,000,000	19,256,595 56	25,441,336 47	16,888,357 88	8,552,978 59	
1796	-	-	1,400,000	1,400,000	2,093,631 31	-	693,631 31
1797	-	-	384,260	384,260	2,736,657 29	-	2,352,397 29
7798	-	-	200,000	200,000	1,028,496 14	-	828,496 14
1799	-	-	5,929,200	5,929,200	1,145,388 97	4,783,811 03	
						13,336,789 62	3,874,524 74
						3,874,524 74	
Total.	-	-	-	33,354,796 47	23,892,531 59	9,462,264 88	

(a) In this statement, the subscriptions to the Bank is considered as an extinguishment of debt to the amount of dollars, 2,494,260, *viz.*

The proceeds of sale of bank shares - -	1,384,260
The shares now owned by the United States, at 25 per cent. advance	1,110,000
	2,494,260

And the sales of Bank stock, amounting to dollars, 1,384,260, are considered as a debt incurred to that amount.

A. The sums applied to the reduction of the debt, per statement No. 2. - - 20,654,847 30
Deduct debts discharged in 1789 - 15,927 13
20,638,920 17

Nominal amount of debt purchased by sinking fund, beyond the monies applied to purchases 688,380 47
Payments in treasury, in evidence of pub. debt 79,970 95
(a) Subscription to the Bank 2,494,260
23,892,531 59

FROM THE BOSTON CENTINEL.

Mr. Ruſſell,

THE following letter, publiſhed in the laſt volume of the collection of the "*Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society.*" is of a nature and on a ſubject too important, I conceive, to be limited in its circulation to thoſe who may purchaſe that valuable work. Many, beſides the reſpectable author of this ingenious letter, have experienced the inconvenience of not having an *appropriate* name, by which to deſignate the inhabitants of the *United States* of *America.*—Geographical writers eſpecially have been ſenſible of this defect; and to make themſelves accurately underſtood, when ſpeaking of the inhabitants of the *United States*, have been compelled, either to uſe a deſcriptive *phraſe*, or to borrow ſome barbarous and improper *name*, given us by foreign writers. In order to deviſe a remedy for this defect, and to provide a *diſtinctive* name for the citizens of the United States, a more proper way, perhaps, cannot be found than to bring the ſubject before the public. And as I know of no better form in which it can be preſented than in the following letter, and no better vehicle through which it can be communicated than your paper, I will thank you to publiſh it, and oblige your humble ſervant,

J. MORSE.

Auguſt 23, 1800.

A letter from the treaſurer of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society to the Preſident, on the propriety and expediency of an appropriate national name, deſignatory of the Citizens of the U. States as a diſtinct people from the other inhabitants of the two vaſt American Peninſulas.

"12*th December*, 1799.

"SIR,

"A period of twenty three years has elapſed ſince the people of the United States ſeized upon the right, and after an eventful and glorious belligerent conteſt eſtabliſhed their claim to the ſovereignty of an independent nation; but they have never yet aſſumed an appropriate name to deſignate them as ſuch, when ſingly and perſonnally applied. In this reſpect our country exhibits a ſingular exception to that of all others who are in poſſeſſion of ſupreme political power.

"The application of United States is merely deſcriptive of our national confederacy, and cannot attach to the individual citizens who are the ſubject of this Federal Government. Therefore, if an inhabitant of New-York, was aſked by a foreigner, to what country he belonged, his reply would be that he was an American and not that he was a free denizen of the United States; becauſe, that he might be, and yet be a Swede or a Scotchman. Beſides, the term American is of indefinite extent, and indiſcriminately includes all the native inhabitants of this immenſe continent, from Patagonia to Baffin's Bay; and from the Carribean Archipelago in the Atlantic, to the ſhores of Californa, on the Norrh Pacific Ocean. The Muſkee and Creole of Cuba, or Barbadoes; the tawney ſavage of the Oronoque, as well as his fiercer brother of Lake Superior, are all Americans, as truly as the wealthy native of Maryland, or the ſober citizen of Philad lphia. At leaſt, ſo are they conſidered on the continent of Europe. And hence it was, that in the years 1775 and 1776, the French, for want of a national indiſcriminate mark, called all the inhabitants belonging to the then thirteen revolted

colonies, by the general name of Boſtonians. They could not deſignate them as Engliſh, Scotch, or Iriſhmen, for we were at open determined war with Great Britain & her Government, and had indignantly ſhaken off the name of Britons; and they were aware of the impropriety, if not abſurdity, of calling them Americans, becauſe that was confounding a brave, intelligeut, & free people, occupying a diſtinct territory, with every ſpecies of inhabitants which the new world had bred.—Little acquainted as they then were with this country, and finding that the moſt firm ſyſtematic hoſtility, to all the plans of the Britiſh cabinet, originated in, and were ſtrenuouſly and ſteadily purſued by the inhabitants of Boſton, who defied and firſt met the vengeance of a mighty nation, directed by an irritated and moſt willing ſovereign, perhaps the adoption and appropriation of that term for a ſhort period was not amiſs. But it ought to have taught us, that with our change of civil dominion, it had become neceſſary & proper to vary our national name, or rather to adopt a diſtinct and definate one.

" To denominate onrſelves Americans inſtead of Engliſhmen. was as incorrect as it would be for the individuals who now compoſe the French Republic, to relinquiſh the name of Frenchmen, and call themſelves Europeans.—The latter marks them as inhabitants of a principal ſection of the globe, but certainly involves in it nothing deſcriptive of the nation they compoſe.

"To illuſtrate this poſition a little farther, permit me to detail a ſhort converſation. I was once aſked by a gentleman at Paris, what countryman I was ? I anſwered, that I was an American. "Born in Mexico r haps ſir ?" No I am not a Mexican. " You are perhaps from Canada, ?" No for then I ſhould have declared myſelf a Canadian—" But ſuppoſe you had been born in the iſland of St. Croix or Trinidad, what would you have called yourſelf then?' In the firſt caſe a Dane, and in the other a Spaniard. " And why do you now call yourſelf an American?' Becauſe my countrymen, who are the citizens of the United States, have choſen ſo to be deſignated. " Well, my good friend, I had the fortune to be born on the banks of the Gambia, where my father was then ſettled, as factor, with his family, and yet I ſhould ſcarcely thank any perſon, who ſhould think proper on that account, to repreſent me as an African."

" Should it be alledged, that when we adopted the term Americans, it was intended as an emphatic, and excluſive appropriation, ſpecially applicable to the citizens and people of the United States; the anſwer is that ſuch a gentilitous aſſumption, is too general; and to render it ſufficiently diſcriminate, it would be indiſpenſibly neceſſary for the reſt of the world to agree in naming anew, the heterogenous millions, who inhabit the peninſulas of North & South America, together with all the numerous iſlands, which are appendant to them.

" In our intercourſe with foreign countries, Is it not barely a cauſe of inconvenience and confuſion; but in ſome parts of Europe even a ſtigma is affixed to our ſtrangely merging our ſpecific national character in a name deſignatory of all the natives of the moſt extended quarter of the earth : or more properly, being deſtitute of any name. And does not ſound policy dictate the prudence of a meaſure, which ſhould unite all the provincial diſtinctions of Vermonteſe and Georgians, Carolinians

and New-Englandmen, Virginians & Pennſylvanians, in one general aggregate national title ; to be adopted by the legiſlature of the United States, and formally declared as the name and peculiar deſcription of all free citizens of our national confederacy ?

" It has been a prevailing ſentiment for ages that great injuſtice was done to the intrepid talents of that immortal navigator Columbus, in permitting an inferior adventurer to deprive him of the honour of giving name as he had birth to half the globe. But the Florentine explorer of the ſouthern continent, Americus Veſpucius, with all his addreſs, might not have ſucceeded, had not his chriſtian name eaſily admmitted a termination ſimilar to that of the two other quarters of the earth, and furniſhed a correſponding ſound with that of the oppoſite continent of Africa.

" With a view of rendering a retribution to the memory of the illuſtrious diſcoverer of the weſtern world ; in ſome degree to vindicate public gratitude, as well as to aſſign a name to the new nation, which our revolutionary war had created, reiterated private attempts were made to denominate the extenſive country which compoſes the dominions of the United States, Columbia ; but hitherto without ſucceſs. And the term Columbian ſeems confined to orators and poets, who retaine it for the purpoſe of aiding a ſonorous ſentence, or rounding a muſical period. So difficult is it to produce an alteration in any popular uſage, which has obtained the ſanction of time ; unleſs the amendment is juſtified by public authority, and becomes the language of the laws.

" The philoſophic hiſtorian of the two Indies, puzzled for a more ſuitable diſtinction, denotes us Anglo-Americans. An amphibolous compound in the aſſumption of which the Abbe Raynal has been followed by moſt of the foreign geographers. And it is not uncommon to find the inhabitants af the United States ſtyled by the Britiſh writers, the ci-devant coloniſts ; and ſometimes the people of the revolted colonies. Nor ought we to complain at being ſubjected to ſuch a mongral deſcription, ſo long as we continue unclaſſed among other nations, by the public neglect of granting to the people of the United States the right of aſſuming a ſpecific name.

There is a pride of country inherent in the human character. A Swiſs would reſent being called a Neapolitan ; and ſo would a Creek Indian, if miſtaken for a Tuſcarora. A national diverſity marks the phyſical, as well as geographical & political boundaries of different regions, in a barbarous, equally with a cultivated ſtate of ſociety. Hence a natural, if not ſtrong reaſon, given by negroes, for their diſlike of mulattoes ; becauſe, ſay the blacks, *Mulatto he no gotee no country.*

" Aware how much eaſier it is to ſubvert than to ſupply, I would not wiſh to eſcape from the taſk of furniſhing a name in ſome meaſure appropriate, if I dared to hazard the ridicule that muſt attach to ſo preſumptuous an attempt by an obſcure individual. Permit me, then, ſir, only to ſuggeſt, that the vaſt territory included within the U. States, exhibits a ſcale of production on which nature has ſtamped her boldeſt features. Her lakes and mountains, foreſts and rivers, aſtoniſh, while they diſtinguiſh this from all other countries and might juſtify a title of the proudeſt import. But the obſtacles which preſent themſelves againſt fixing an appellation, thus geographically deſceiptive, and at the ſame

time applicable to the inhabitants, are various, if not inſuperable; whereas the recollection, that the national diſtrict of COLUMBIA will very ſoon contain the capital of the empire, irreſiſtably forces upon the mind, a term which ſupercedes the difficulty; has long been familiar to our ears, and would therefore, moſt probably, be cheerfully and univerſally acquieſced in by the citizens of the United States; and its adoption be ſpeedily. and effectually communicated to all foreign countries thro' the medium of the cuſtom-houſe, by an inſertion in the regiſter of every veſſel, or other official fiſcal certificate. Why *Columbian* is not equal in ſound or meaning, to that of *Hibernian* or *Caledonian*, is left to the diſcovery of tooſe who prefer the terms *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, only becauſe they contain fewer ſyllables, and are beſt underſtood in vulgar parlance.

" The ancient and modern hiſtory, both of civilized and barbarous nations, afford many examples of a whole people deriving a name from the metropolis of their reſpective countries, and a few adopting that of their particular founders, or primary legiſlatures; but in neither do we find any nation, the citizens of the United Srates excepted, who were not diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar appellation, differing from that of their government.

" Although there may not at preſent be any apprehenſion that our inhabitants like thoſe of one of the ſtates of Greece, may be ſubjected to a nick-name; under which hiſtory has preſerved their records, and which, even at this diſtant period, continues proverbial; yet it is not impoſſible, without ſome public proviſion againſt it, that they may be ſaddled with one, founded on accident, whim, caprice, reſentment or ridicule, and which may obtain a foreign currency, from a concurrence of circumſtances, in deſpite of every effort to controul it.

" The youth and fair fame of our nation, the comparative pauſity of our population, the innovations and reforms which mark the preſent eventful æra, all conſpire to facilitate the adoption of a name ſuited to our circumſtances as an independent people; and which, there can be little doubt, that the reſt of the world would acquieſce in, after the ſame ſhould have received a governmental ſanction, and have been authorized by the ſupreme authority of our country, as the name and deſignation by which the free citizens of theſe United States ſhall for ever thereafter, be known and called.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM TUDOR.

" James Sullivan, eſq. Preſident of the *Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society.*

Statement of the grounds of difference between the American and Britiſh Commiſſioners, under the 6th article of the Britiſh Treaty, to which the Preſident of the United States has reference in his Speech at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion of Congreſs.

THE fourth article of the definitive treaty of peace is in theſe words: " It is agreed, that creditors on either ſide, ſhall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in ſterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted."

As complaints were made on the part of Great Britain, that this article was infringed, a remedy was provided in the 6th article of the trea-

ty of amity, negociated by Mr. Jay, as follows: Whereas it is alledged by divers Britiſh merchants, and others of his majeſty's ſubjects, that debts, to a conſiderable amount, which were bona fide contracted before the peace, ſtill remain owing to them, by the citizens or inhabitants of the United States; and that by the operations of various lawful impediments, ſince the peace, not only the full recovery of ſaid debts has been delayed, but alſo the value and ſecurity thereof have been in ſeveral inſtances impaired and leſſened; ſo that by the ordinary courſe of judicial proceedings, the Britiſh creditors cannot now obtain, and actually have and receive full and adequate compenſation for ſuch loſſes and damages which they have thereby ſuſtained: It is agreed, that in all ſuch caſes where full compenſation for ſuch loſſes and damages cannot for whatever reaſon be actually obtained, had and received by the ſaid creditors in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, the United States will make full and complete compenſation for the ſame to the ſaid creditors; but it is diſtinctly underſtood, that this proviſion is to extend to ſuch loſſes only, as have been occaſioned by the lawful impediments aforeſaid; and it is not to extend to loſſes occaſioned by the inſolvency of the debtors, or other cauſes, as would equally have operated, to produce ſuch loſs, if the ſaid impediments had not exiſted, nor to ſuch loſſes or damages as have been occaſioned by the manifeſt delay or negligence, or wilful omiſſion of the claimant.

"For the purpoſe of aſcertaining the amount of any ſuch loſſes and damages, five commiſſioners ſhall be appointed, and authorized to meet and act in manner following, viz. Two of them ſhall be appointed by his majeſty, two of them by the preſident of the United States, by and with the advice of the ſenate thereof, and the fifth by the unanimous voice of the other four; and if they ſhould not agree in ſuch choice, then the commiſſioners named by the two parties ſhall reſpectively propoſe one perſon, and of the two names ſo propoſed, one ſhall be drawn by lot, in the preſence of the four original commiſſioners.

"When the five commiſſioners thus appointed, ſhall firſt meet, they ſhall, before they proceed to act, take the following oath or affirmation in the preſence of each other, which oath or affirmation being ſo taken, and truly attested, ſhall be entered on the record of their proceedings, viz.

"I, *A B*, one of the commiſſioners appointed in purſuance of the 6th article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between his Britannic majeſty and the United States, do ſolemnly ſwear (or affirm) that I will honeſtly, diligently, impartially and carefully examine, and to the beſt of my judgment, according to juſtice and equity, *decide* all ſuch complaints, as under the ſaid article ſhall be preferred to the ſaid commiſſioners, and that I will forbear to act as a commiſſioner in any caſe in which I may be perſonally intereſted.

"Three of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall conſtitute a board, and ſhall have power to do any acts appertaining to the ſaid commiſſion, provided that one of the commiſſioners named on each ſide, and the fifth commiſſioner ſhall be preſent, *and all deciſions ſhall be made by a majority of the voices of the commiſſioners then preſent*; eighteen months from the day on which the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall form a board, and be ready to proceed to buſineſs, are aſſigned for receiving complaints and

applications: but they are nevertheleſs authorized, in any particular caſe, in which it ſhall appear to them to be reaſonable and juſt, to extend the ſaid term of eighteen months, for any term not exceeding 6 months, after the expiration thereof. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall firſt meet at Philadelphia, but they ſhall have power to adjourn from place to place, as they ſhall ſee cauſe

"The ſaid commiſſioners in examining the complaints and applications ſo preferred to them, are empowered and required, in purſuance of the true intent and meaning of this article, to take into conſideration, all claims, whether of principal or intereſt, and to determine the ſame reſpectively, according to the merits of the ſeveral caſes, due regard being had to all the circumſtances thereof, and as equity and juſtice ſhall appear to them to require.

"And the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall have power to examine all ſuch perſons as ſhall come before them, on oath or affirmation, touching the premiſes, and alſo to receive in evidence, according as they may think moſt conſiſtent with equity and juſtice, all written depoſitions, or books or papers, or extracts thereof; every ſuch depoſition, book, or paper, or extract, being duly authenticated, either according to the legal forms now reſpectively exiſting in the two countries, or in ſuch other manner as the commiſſioners ſhall ſee cauſe to require or allow.

"The award of the ſaid commiſſioners, or any three of them as aforeſaid, ſhall in all caſes be final and concluſive, both as to the juſtice of the claim, and to the amount of the ſum to be paid to the creditor or claimant: And the United States undertake to cauſe the ſum ſo awarded, to be paid in ſpecie to ſuch creditor or claimant, without deduction; and at ſuch time or times, at ſuch place or places, as ſhall be awarded by the ſaid commiſſioners; and on condition of ſuch releaſes or aſſignments to be given by the creditor or claimant, as by the ſaid commiſſioners may be directed; provided always, that no ſuch payment ſhall be fixed by ſaid commiſſioners to take place, ſooner than 12 months from the day of the exchange of the ratification of this treaty."

Under this article, his Britanuic majeſty appointed Thomas M'Donald, and Henry Pye Rich, Eſqrs, and the Preſident of the United States appointed Thomas Fitzſimons and James Innes, Eſqrs. commiſſioners. The ſaid Britiſh commiſſioners propoſed Fiſher Ames, Eſq. for the fifth commiſſioner; and Mr. Guillemard was drawn by lot. Afterwards, upon the death of Col. Innes, the Preſident appointed Samuel Sitgreaves, Eſq. in his room.

Among the claims which were exhibited to the commiſſioners were thoſe of Britiſh creditors, whoſe debts were confiſcated during the revolutionary war. Theſe, which were to an immenſe amount, were contended to be revived by the 4th article of the treaty of peace, & recoverable againſt the United States, under the ſixth article of the treaty of amity. The caſe of Andrew Allen, was one of this claſs. It was before the board July 9th, '99; and is thus ſtated.

"Claim for loſſes, ariſing from the non-recovery of debts due to the claimant, being *a ſubject of his Britannic Majeſty* through the operation of an act of attainder and confiſcation paſſed againſt him *as a ſubject of Pennſylvania*, by the repreſentatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennſylvania, on the ſixth day of March, 1778; for the crime of high treaſon, in having con-

trary to the allegiance which he owed to the ſaid ſtate, joined and adhered to the army of the King of G. Britain, the ſaid act of attainder and confiſcation being a lawful impediment, which operated againſt the 4th article of the treaty of peace, and within the meaning of the ſixth article of the treaty of amity.

" Objection ſtated on the part of the United States as the firſt ground of defence, before the board; that the claimant was an inhabitant of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, at the date of the declaration of independence, he was a ſubject of the ſtate, for that in fact the United States were independent ſo early as 1776; and on the ever glorious memorable 4th July, 1776, they ſolemnly and formally declared to the world, that they were independent, that the formal acknowledgement of his Britannic Majeſty added nothing to their real independence: and if the treaty of peace had never been made, the United States would have actually continued an independent nation, though at war with Great-Britain to this moment.

And that tho' Andrew Allen, after being a ſubject of Pennſylvania, joined the Britiſh forces in December, 1776, and returned to his natural allegiance, this did not diſſolve the right of Pennſylvania to hold him as a ſubject, and as a ſubject to puniſh him, concluding that he was not entitled to the benefit of the 4th article of the treaty of peace, or 6th article of the treaty of amity.

" The board finding that the objection, *en limine*, thus taken and argued before them, precluded all further inveſtigation—look upon the conduct ſo far only as it was neceſſary to the determination of the national character, and right to claim. And for a full argument and diſcuſſion, and with referrence to opinions, which had been ſolemnly delivered by the judges of the United States, a majority of the board propoſed the reſolution ſtating among other things, that the only difference between the queſtion in this caſe, and that which is ſtated in the preceeding reſolution,* conſiſted in the different words of deſcription, contained in the two ſeveral acts; but as the act of Pennſylvania could not have any greater effect or operation againſt the 4th article of the treaty of peace, than that of New-York; and as the fact charged to be a crime, viz. adhering to the cauſe of his Britannic Majeſty, was the ſame in both caſes, the mere words of deſcription, aſſumed in the act of Pennſylvania, could not prove againſt the character of the party as a Britiſh ſubject; or give efficacy to itſelf, ſo as to take the caſe out of the meaning and operation of the ſaid article—that at the peace, there was no unconditional ſubmiſſion on the part of Great-Britain, to all that had been done under the independence of the United States, and the authority they had exerciſed; but a negociation by ſolemn treaty containing reciprocal ſtipulations, as the price of peace, and for the mutual benefit of both countries; by the 4th article whereof, in favour of creditors on either ſide, it was expreſsly or in effect ſtipulated that no act which had been or ſhould hereafter be done or paſſed by or under the authority of the ſaid United States, or any of them, whatever might be its former import: whatever the terms therein employed; whatever the extent of power thereby aſſumed or declared; whatever the character thereby aſcribed to the individual againſt whom it was directed; ſhould be ſuffered to operate as a lawful impediment to the recovery of debts heretofore contracted, to a credit-

on the ſide of his Britannic Majeſty at the date of the ſaid treaty—concluding alſo in theſe words, that if the claimant could be ſaid to have at any time made his election in favour of the United States, under the declaration of independence; and ſo departed for a time from his native allegiance (the contrary of which appears to have been the caſe) his return to, and having been on the ſide of his ſaid native allegiance at the peace, would have ſecured to him the benefit of the ſaid fourth article of the treaty—that accordingly, having been on the ſide of his Britannic Majeſty at the date of the treaty of peace, and being a natural born ſubject of his ſaid Majeſty, not barred by the acceptance of citizenſhip, from the right of complaining againſt the United States, the claimant is entitled under the treaty of amity to complain to this board of the ſaid act of attainder and confiſcation before recited, as being a lawful impediment within the deſcription of the fourth article of the treaty of peace, and the 6th article of amity, to the recovery of ſuch debts as he ſhall prove to the ſatisfaction of the board, within the meaning of the ſaid treaties.

"And as the ground which has been taken on the part of the United States, involved a ſubject of delicacy, on which they were deſirous not to give offence or be miſunderſtood, they added that the ſaid principles and concluſions, contained nothing inconſiſtent with that perfect reſpect which is due to the independence of the United States; as the ſame was recognized on the part of his Britannic Majeſty by the firſt article of the treaty of peace."

To prevent a vote upon this reſolution, Mr. Fitzſimons and Mr. Sitgreaves withdrew. They alſo withdrew in other ſimilar caſes.

Yet the Britiſh commiſſioners entered on the records of the board, that "they held that thoſe acts of ſeceſſion, which had been practiſed in particular caſes, could not affect the validity or operations of the opinions which they were meant to deſert; for the very act of ſeceſſion implied what had indeed been formerly minuted, that thoſe opinons were the opinions of the majority which had been declared in a board completely conſtituted; all that the ſubſequent ſeceſſion of ſome of the members could effect, was but to prevent what the treaty did not require, namely the declaration of the opinions by the formality of a vote: that formerly being the accuſtomed, but not the excluſive mode of aſcertaining the fact; which if prevented by the evaſive proceeding might be ſupplied by the admiſſion of other evidence that ſuch has been the fact. They therefore held that the opinions which had been declared, by a majority of the board, were as much the opinions of the board, under the expreſs proviſions of the article as if the form of a vote had not been ſo prevented."

The reader will ſee that the main queſtion was on the true meaning of the words "*bona fide* debts heretofore contracted" in the fourth article of the treaty of peace, whether it is limited to debts heretofore contracted, but then exiſting and not extinguiſhed or diſcharged, according to the laws of the land, as by releaſe, limitation, confiſcation, attainder, or any other lawful mode of diſcharge, or whether it was intended to have a retroſpective operation, ſo as to annul any extinguiſhment or diſcharge required according to the pre-exiſting laws of the ſtate, and revive a law already lawfully dead and bu-

ed. The latter was the deciſion of the majority of the commiſſioners; and they refer to "opinions, which had been ſolemnly delivered by the judges of the United States." It would be unfortunate if in the ſpirit inſpired by a liberal policy in favour of Great-Britain, at a time when mutual liberality was cultivated and expected on her part, any of our judges may have given ſuch opinions on this point, as can be improved to eſtabliſh claims to the amount of perhaps twenty million againſt the United States, or to embarraſs the executive in further attempts to negociate a compromiſe of a diſpute. For this difficulty has entirely ſuſpended the board of commiſſioners. Thoſe of Great-Britain have returned home. And the board of commiſſioners, on our claims of damages for commercial ſpoliations, which was the counterpart of this commiſſion, is in conſequence of it ſuſpended in England. Mr. Sitgreaves has been diſpatched to London, ſuppoſed to be charged with a negociation on this perplexing ſubject.

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* A reſolution relative to Dr. Ingles, under an act of confiſcation of the State of New-York.

Legiſlature of S. Carolina,

CONVENED AT COLUMBIA.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tueſday, November 25.

The following meſſage was recived from the Lieutenant-Governor, by the Secretary of the ſtate:

To the honorable the Speaker and Members of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.

GENTLEMEN,

AGREEABLY to the conſtitution of this ſtate, its authorities are now met at the ſeat of government, for the diſpatch of public buſineſs; but the gentleman who filled the executive office at the cloſe of your laſt ſeſſion, is gone. RUTLEDGE is no more! With Waſhington, and other illuſtrious perſonages, dear to America, for a ſeries of long-tried and virtuous ſervices, he hath departed. As his manners were pleaſing, he has been regretted; as his life was uſeful to humanity, he has been publicly mourned; and long, very long, I truſt, will his memory be held dear, to all who now enjoy, or who for ages I hope will continue to poſſeſs thoſe bleſſings flowing from American Independence, which his labours, under God's providence, aſſiſted to obtain.

In conſequence of this unexpected calamity, the duties which he was entruſted to execute, are conſtitutionally veſted in me; and I was immediately notified by the Secretary of the ſtate, to enter on the ſame. This I was enabled to perform, as I had previouſly qualified before you, when elected lieutenant-governor; and in a few days after his deceaſe, I repaired to the city of Charleſton for that purpoſe.

Here I found that the illneſs of the governor had unavoidably retarded public affairs, particularly as relating to the appointment and commiſſioning of all public officers thro'-out the ſtate; one ſheriff only of the new election was in commiſſion; & all the other officers connected with the judiciary department, required to be without delay placed in their repective ſtations, or otherwiſe the firſt ſittings of the courts under the late judiciary laws, could not have taken place. My endeavors to this point were, for the moſt part ſucceſsful; and the judges of the courts of law performed their ſpring circuit, holding courts throughout the ſtate, ex-

cept in ſome few inſtances, where commiſſions were received too late, or ſome error might have happened in drawing juries.

Upon the whole, however, I felicitate you on this firſt commencement under the new judiciary ſyſtem: and I earneſtly hope, that with your ſupport, it will be the means of juſtice being better adminiſtered, and of its being brought nearer the homes of the citizens of this ſtate, than has heretofore been done. The courts of equity throughout the ſtate could not be organized, ſo as to enable the judges to commence their circuit at the time firſt contemplated in the law, as from applications not being made for the office of commiſſioners in each of the courts, time was neceſſary for ſearching out ſuitable perſons to accept appointments thereto; without which, the buſineſs of the courts could not be performed. The courts of equity, however, for the diſtricts of Charleſton, Colleton, and Beaufort, held their firſt ſittings at Charleſton, in May laſt, going through much important buſineſs; and ſince that time, the officers both of the courts of law and equity, have fully entered on the duties of their reſpective offices; evincing, that although the juſtice of this ſtate, may have hitherto in ſome reſpects been ſlow, it is nevertheleſs ſure; and that from henceforth, a bright proſpect is preſented before us, of ſuitable diſpatch in legal concerns, than which nothing is more honorable to a ſtate, or neceſſary to the welfare of its citizens.

While theſe beneficial conſequences reſult from our preſent judiciary ſyſtem, other advantages ariſing therefrom are already perceived, as enabling the people the better to know, and ſupport governmental authority, with all thoſe advantages of civilization and information connected therewith. To further this good work, permit me to iuvite your early attention to the education of our youth throughout the ſtate. For as all good government is founded on education and patriotiſm, ſo legiſlative attention cannot be better beſtowed, than by encouraging theſe deſirable objects. The firſt leads to the knowledge of one's country, her government, and to all rights incidental to her welfare; the ſecond originates at an early moment, that national ardor, which leads to the moſt honorable actions, and binds in ſweet union the citizens of a ſtate together. Hence education, combined with proper political information, & formalities ſuitable to particular countries, make ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of youth, that when they grow up to manhood, they are ever to be relied on in times of emergency. Foreign influence of whatever kind, will then diſcharge its ſhafts of corruption with unavailing tendency, and when ſtrangers ſhall boaſt of the advantages or perfections of diſtant countries, and ſhall recommend alterations in our laws and cuſtoms conformably thereto, a laudable jealouſy will be excited, which will lead to cautious inveſtigation, and will ſerve to bind us to our country the more. By this principle, the heroes of paſt times long preſerved untarniſhed the liberties of their reſpective ſtates; and it was not until this principle was diſſolved, an engine ever played off by crafty ambition, that their governments were ſubverted. From public ſchools then, eaſy of acceſs to the pooreſt claſs of the community, are theſe national benefits to be derived; to reap theſe advantages, the citizens of Carolina have a claim upon your attention and generoſity in behalf of their children; and I cannot recommend the inſtitution of

theſe public ſeminaries on proper principles, too much to your conſideration.

It is a matter of national, joy to find that ſo valuable a ſtaple as cotton is now added to the produce of this ſtate. Its introduction as an export, has been but of late years; but on trial, it has been found to anſwer in all high land ſituations, and, as indigo and tobacco become in leſs demand, to enſure an handſome return in their room, to the induſtry of our inhabitants. Under this influence, the planting of cotton increaſes annually, both in the lower and upper parts of this ſtate, and in value it has already ſurpaſſed any of our other ſtaples; and in this year, the exports of cotton from the port of Charleſton alone, amounted to ſix millions, four hundred and ſixty-three pounds weight. Poſſeſſing ſo valuable an acquiſition, it is time ſome legiſlative meaſures be taken to guard againſt any frauds reſpecting it and to enſure, as much as may be, its being ſent to market in good order and condition; and I recommend ſuch conſideration to your particular attention.

With great pleaſure I have alſo to inform you, that not only this ſtate, but the United States, at preſent enjoy an interval of leſs foreign interruption, than has been experienced for ſeveral years paſt; a calm has enſued reſpecting ourſelves, which I hope will end in univerſal peace; and although our envoys to France have not yet, as far as we know officially completed the ends of their miſſion, thus much has been effected, that our government in them has been reſpected, and that our armed veſſels of Marque, which heretofore were obliged to carry on commerce with foreign powers at a great riſk and expence, now traverſe the ocean from Europe to America unarmed, bringing valuable cargoes, and protected alone by the American flag which they bear. Commerce thereby will be encouraged; and as the merchant now pays leſs inſurance and freight ſo the planters and farmers have a right to expect more for the produce of their induſtry.

But although theſe bleſſings at preſent attend us, yet ought we not by any means to be rendered thereby inattentive to thoſe duties, which a prudent regard to our general tranquility obviouſly ſuggeſt: for, a becoming vigilance may prevent thoſe dangers which an indolent ſecurity may otherwiſe invite. The militia and patrole laws will not therefore eſcape your attention, amendments to which, in ſome reſpects, I am purſuaded you will find neceſſary to make during your preſent ſeſſion. And when I ſhall tranſmit you a return of the military ſtores contained in the arſenals and magazines of this ſtate, I truſt you will take meaſures to ſupply ſuch wants therein, as the public ſafety may require.

By the report of the comptroller of the revenue and finances of this ſtate, which I have the honor of tranſmitting to you, you will find your expectations have been well realized, as reſpecting benefits which would be derived from the eſtabliſhment of that office. A new life and vigour has taken place in all departments over which its influence extended; public monies have been called into a very large amount, and thereby many debts which were precarious, or in a little time would have been loſt, are ſaved; and on the firſt day of October laſt, a ballance remained in the treaſury of three hundred and two thouſand four hundred and fifty-eight dollars, 88 cents, ſubject to any directions you may impoſe. When ſuch are the

advantages which you this day poſſeſs, I cannot but draw your attention to the officer who is the head of that department, whoſe induſtry in the duties of his ſtation have to my knowledge been indefatigable and unceaſing, and whoſe zeal for the public ſervice, although great, has always been guarded by that prudence & diſcretion, which never led him to overſtep the bonndaries of law, or to ſwerve from what he imagined the true intereſt of his country.

With the means and apportunities you now poſſeſs, much may be done for the public ſervice: much to relieve the local inconveniencies under which many citizens labor at preſent. Various parts of the ſtate are ſo far from a market, and the expences of carriage thereto are ſo great, as to diſcourage, the efforts of a well meant induſtry, Hence many farmers in theſe ſituations raiſe little more than neceſſaries for their own conſumption; they have not even an inducement to give their lands that attendance, which otherwiſe they would be invited to perform. As opportunities permit, to open the inland navigation, to encourage the induſtry of individuals, and from the very mountains to ſend down the produce of this ſtate, in an intimate connexion with commercial advantages, is one of the deareſt privileges of legiſlative power; and one, which I truſt you will haſten to exerciſe, by all conſtitutical means within your controul.

Intimately connected with this, are the eſtabliſhment of manufactories, which, according to the objects of their inſtitution, may either promote the growth of articles around, which for want of a demand are now raiſed only in ſmall quantities, or they may encourage the growth of new articles, direct to a better huſbandry, and thus afford better opportunities of comfort to the people. Shoud you think proper to alter our criminal code, and make it leſs capital, an acceſſion of means towards the eſtabliſhment of manufactories may be produced by enacting, that perſons guilty of inferior crimes, be condemned for a certain time to labor therein; thus obliging them, by their ſervices, to make ſome compenſation to a ſociety whom they have injured.

Theſe, and many other bleſſings, may be derived from your exertions, if the opportunities you have, be induſtriouſly purſued. A certain portion of buſineſs, however, can only be performed in the ſhort ſpace of your cuſtomary ſeſſion. The particular communications which, by the conſtitution of this ſtate, and my public ſtation, I am charged to make ſhall be tranſmitted you with all poſſible diſpatch. And may the Great Diſpoſer of Events, direct your councils, and invigorate your meaſures, promoting the practice of morality, and increaſing the happineſs of our country. With great reſpect and conſideration towards you, I have the honour to ſubſcribe

JOHN DRAYTON.

South-Carolina, Nov. 24th, 1800.

State Paper.

Report of the Commiſſioners of the Fund, for Navy penſions and half pay, purſuant to the act for better government of the Navy of the United States. Read in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, December 2, 1800.

In purſuance of the act, entitled, "An act for the better government of the Navy of the United States," the Secretary of the Navy, the Se-

cretary of the Treaſury, and the Secretary of War, reſpectfully Report to Congreſs :—

That on on the 30th day of June, 1800, there had been received into the treaſury, the ſum of 23,859 dollars, 88 cents, being the proportion of prize money, ſo far as the accounts had been rendered, then belonging to the United States; which ſum they have cauſed to be inveſted in ſtock of the United States, through the agency of George Simpſon, caſhier of the Bank of the United States, (except the ſum of 32 dollars, 76 cents, ſtill remaining in his hands.)

That ſince the 30th of June, and prior to the 1ſt of December, the further ſum of 6,024 dollars and 32 cents, has been received at the treaſary, and is now to be inveſted.

That other ſums have been received at the treaſury ſince the 1ſt of October, which will be applied in the ſame manner as directed by law, as ſoon as the forms of office will admit.

On behalf of the board,
BEN. STODDERT.

City of Waſhington,
Nov. 25, 1800.

THE HAUNTED BEACH.

BY MISS ROBINSON.

UPON *a lonely deſert beach,*
Where the white foam was ſcatter'd,
A little ſhed uprear'd its head,
The lofty barks were ſhatter'd.

The ſea-weeds gathering near the door,
A ſombre path diſplay'd,
And all around the deaf'ning roar
Re-echoed on the chalky ſhore—
By the green billows made.

Above a jutted cliff was ſeen,
Where ſea-birds hover'd, craving,
And all around, the craggs were bound
With weeds, forever waving.

And here and there a cavern wide,
Its ſhadowy jaws diſplay'd,
And near the ſand, at ebb of tide,
A ſhatter'd maſt was ſeen to ride,
Where the green billows ſtray'd.

And often while the moaning wind
Stole o'er the ſummer ocean:
The moonlight ſcene was all ſerene
The waters ſcarce in motion.

Then while the ſmoothly ſlanting ſand
The tall cliff wrapp'd in ſhade,
The fiſherman beheld a band
Of Spectres gliding hand in hand—
Where the green billows play'd!

And pale their faces were as ſnow!
And ſullenly they wander'd!
And to the ſkies with hollow eyes,
They look'd as tho' they ponder'd!

And ſometimes from their hammock ſhroud,
They diſmal howlings made!
And while the blaſt blew ſtrong and loud,
The clear moon mark'd the ghaſtly crowd,
Where the green billows play'd.

And then above the haunted hut,
The Curlews ſcreaming hover'd,

And the low door with furious roar,
The frothy breakers cover'd.

For in the fiſherman's lon ſhade,
A murder'd man was laid,
With ten wide gaſhes on his head,
And deep was made his ſandy bed,
Where the green billows play'd.

And when the ſkies are veil'd in gloom,
The murderer's liquid way
Bounds o'er the deeply yawning tomb,
And flaſhing fires the ſand illume—
Where the green billows play'd.
Full thirty years his taſk has grown,
Day after day more weary;
For heaven deſign'd his gaily mind
Should feed on proſpects dreary.

Bound by a ſtrong and myſtic chain,
He has not power to ſtray,
But deſtin'd mis'ry to ſuſtain,
He waſtes in ſolitude and pain
A loathſome life away!

EPIPHONEMA TO LIBERTY.

From JURE DIVINO, *Book* V.

HAIL LIBERTY! thou phyſic of the ſoul,
That cheers the ſeveral parts, and heals the whole;
Beam of enlighten'd ſenſe, for *Liberty*
Is *Heaven's* reflection into *Nature's* eye:
Inſtructive glance, that rules to judge creates,
And by *thoſe* rules the reſt illuminates;
Where'er thou doſt the darks of guilt ſurvive,
At thy appearance *Nations learn to live*;
For *Liberty* is *Life*, and every ſlave
Moves only in the circle of his grave;
Is dead to all the ends of life—his *breath*
Serves only to *inhance the price* of death;
Imbitter ſorrow, and oppreſs his ſenſe,
And make his real torture *more intenſe*:
So Tyrants kill by long and lingering pain,
The terror of *their vengeance* to maintain.

Thou doſt the nations to their ſenſe reſtore,
Poſſeſt with raging lunacies before;
Dethrone their captivating follies, and,
To its own native ſtate *return* the land;
For LIBERTY is Nature's gift to Men,
Born in their blood, and runs in every vein,
And all but *Lunatics* the gift maintain.
Every degenerate ſtep to bondage ſhows
A *madneſs* man to crime and cuſtom owes;
A contradiction to the laws of ſenſe,
That bears its puniſhment in the offence,

But when the weaken'd *Nature* can endure
No more—and *Reaſon* ſeeks abroad for cure;
Seeks for ſome antidote t'expel the the taint,
Then LIBERTY comes in—*the glorious hint!*
The ſpreading plague at firſt appearance *kills*,
And nations are made free *againſt their wills!*
Cordials and life are in the very words,

New ſpirits each repeated ſound affords ;
Thro' all the angles of the heart they roll .
Hail LIBERTY ! *thou Phyſic of the ſoul !*

CATO'S SOLILOQUY PARODIED.

Being a REFLECTION *and* ADDRESS *to the* PEOPLE, *ſuppoſed to be ſpoken while reading the* PAMPHLET *entitled*

COOPER'S REPLY TO BURK'S INVECTIVE.

IT muſt be ſo—COOPER, thou reaſon'ſt well—elſe why this
Viſible fear, this guilty dread of Political Inveſtigation !
Why ſhrink our Governors back upon themſelves, and
Startle at the truth !—becauſe it wounds their Souls ; it
Wounds their Pride ; it wounds their Hypocriſy,
Thou well-tim'd diſmal thought ; what ſad
Scenes of Blood and Ruin ! through what confuſion and
Changes have we paſt ; and all to ſupport this ſtate.
Hypocriſy ; who's views have ever been to enſlave us ;
But here we reſt ; for reaſon illumes the world. Behold
Her offspring LIBERTY now burſts to birth ; ſhe ever muſt
Delight in virtue, and that which ſhe delights in muſt
Be happy ; then why and wherefore hang you thus between,
As if you'd doubt her bleſſings ; ſoon ſhe'll prove 'em.
Meanwhile her enemies muſt fall. The ſons of
Liberty in reaſon clad, ſmile at the combination, and
Defies its Fury. For STARS and GARTERS ſhall fade
Away ; MONARCHY ! himſelf, grow dim with age ; and
Kingcraft ! ſink in years, but theſe ſhall flouriſh
In immortal fame, unhurt amidſt the war of nation's,
The wreck of DESPOTISM ! and the cruſh of KINGS !